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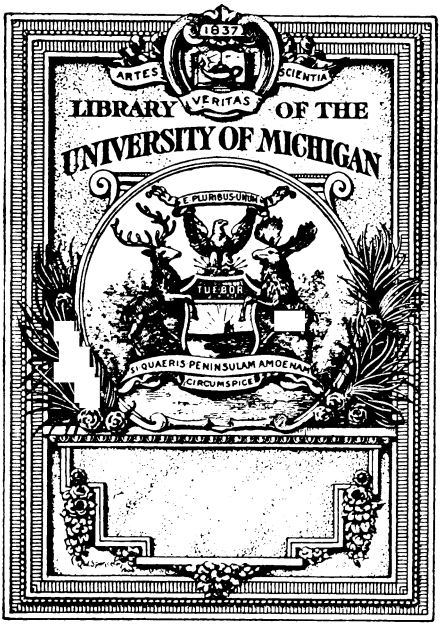

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THE
ADVENTVRES AND DISCOVRSES
of
Captain IOHN SMITH.

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These are the Lines, that shew thy Face; but those
That shew thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee:
Thy Faire-Discoueries and Fowle-Ouerthrowes
Of Salvages, much Civillized by thee
Best shew thy Spirit; and to it Glory (Wyn)
So, thou art Brasse without, but Golde within.

If so; in Brasse two soft Smiths Arts to beare)
I fixt thy Fame, to make Brasse Steele out weare.

Thrice as thou art Virtues,

The ADVENTVRES and DISCOVRSES of Captain IOHN SMITH, ſometime Preſident of VIRGINIA, and Admiral of NEW ENGLAND.

Newly Ordered by

IOHN ASHTON,
(*Author of Chap Books of the Eighteenth Century, Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne, &c.*)

With Illvſtrations taken by him from Original Sovrces.

LONDON, PARIS, AND NEW YORK:
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PREFACE.

AMERICANS are utterly aſtoniſhed at the apathy ſhewn by the Engliſh to the memory of a veritable "Worthy," Captain John Smith. On the other ſide of the Atlantic they would fain claim him as their own, if they could, and they cannot comprehend the indifference to, and ignorance of, the details of his life, in this country. It cannot be from lack of intereſting particulars, for his life was one peculiarly adventurous, bordering almoſt on the romantic, and his adventures were related by himſelf, and others, with a terſe and rugged brevity that is very charming.

In all Biographies he is ſtyled "an Adventurer," and in all probability would never have received a notice at all, had it not been for the peculiarly romantic connection between him and Pocahontas. Modern ſcepticiſm has, of courſe, endeavoured to throw doubts as to the reality of Smith's ſtory, but

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a moment's reflection will ſhow that it was put to the ſevereſt teſt, and it was never once contemporaneouſly queſtioned. When Pocahontas came over here, in 1616, Smith wrote a letter to Queen Anne (conſort of James I.) commending her to Her Majeſty's care, and detailing her various ſervices to himſelf and the Colony at large. Of her ſaving his life he writes thus: "After ſome ſix weeks fatting among thoſe Salvage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, ſhe hazarded the beating out of her own brains to ſave mine, and not only that, but ſo prevailed with her father, that I was ſafely conducted to *James Towne*." Can any one ſeriouſly think, that if it were a fabrication, he would ſo write the Queen, well knowing that Pocahontas was here in the country, would be ſure to be queſtioned on the matter by every one that came in contact with her, and that either ſhe, or her huſband, John Rolfe, could at once explicitly deny it, and thus cauſe inſtant diſcovery, if it were a falſehood?

So alſo the truth of his ſervices in Tranſylvania, his ſlaughter of the three Turks in ſingle combat, and his captivity in Tartary, is plainly atteſted in

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the grant of arms made to him by Sigiſmund Bathor, which grant was affirmed to him by Sir William Segar, Garter King of Arms.

Thus, then, when we have ſuch irrefutable teſtimony of the truth of the moſt improbable events in his career, we can well give him the credit of verity in all the other portions of his narrative, which (except in ſome of the details of his very childhood) has been ſtrictly adhered to.

The portrait of Smith is undeniable, as it appears in more than one edition of his works publiſhed in his lifetime, and that of Pocahontas is by the ſame artiſt, ſo that there is very little doubt as to its being genuine, the high cheek-bones and ſtraight hair clearly evidencing her Indian deſcent.* It may

* Theſe engravings are by *Simon Paſs*, or *de Paſſe*, and were both executed in the ſame year. The ſuppoſed original painting from which the likeneſs of *Pocahontas* is taken, is in the poſſeſſion of *Haſtings Elwin*, Eſq., J.P., of Gorleſton, Yarmouth; and many have been the ſpeculations reſpecting it. In 1859 a writer in *Notes and Queries* (2nd Series, vol. vii. p. 307) ſays: "Her deſcendants, through the marriage of her grand-daughter *Anne Rolfe* with *Peter Elwyn*, Eſq., are numerous in Norfolk. Her portrait remains in that family." This ſtatement remained uncontradicted until 1875, when, in the ſame periodical (5th Series, vol. iv. p. 104), another writer ſays: "In 1859 a contributor of yours ſtated, erroneouſly, that *Anne* Rolfe, the grand-daughter of Pocahontas, had intermarried with Peter Elwyn, Eſq., and that in her family

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not be generally known that many families in America claim her for an anceſtreſs, through her marriage with John Rolfe. The record of her burial is ſtill preſerved at Graveſend.

I know both theſe portraits, and all the other engravings (except the Colonial Seal of Virginia, which was taken from a document at Lambeth Palace, and kindly given me by F. C. Price, Eſq.), to be thorough fac-ſimiles, and they are, in my idea, far more intereſting than they would be had the events depicted been drawn by a modern artiſt.

JOHN ASHTON.

---

the portrait of Pocahontas was preſerved *at that day*. Pocahontas only left one child, a boy; he married, and died, leaving only one child, a daughter *Jane*, not *Anne*, who was married to Col. Robert Bolling, of Virginia, A.D. 1675. When John Rolfe, the huſband of Pocahontas, left England after her death, he gave his only ſon Thomas to the keeping of a brother, and *the* Anne who married Mr. Elwyn may have been a deſcendant of that brother; and as the care of the child was committed to him, it is very probable that he, alſo, was the cuſtodian of the portrait of the brother."

This theory is very pretty, only Smith, who knew all about her death, &c., expreſſly ſtates that the lad was left in charge of Sir Lewis Stukely, and Mr. Elwin, who moſt courteouſly replied to my inquiries on the ſubject, ſays that the picture "was given to my grandfather by a Mrs. Zukelley, and nothing more is known of it beyond what is inſcribed upon the picture, all of which is reproduced in the engraving."

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PROLOGUE.

I WELL call to mind how we boys, that is to ſay, I and my brothers, did ſomewhat chafe and fret when our good father firſt made us keep a Diurnal, or daily record of ſuch events as occurred in our ſmall lives worthy to be noted. At firſt, until we had grown accuſtomed to it, and could not think of ſleeping unleſs it was duly written up, he would make us ſhow them to him every day; for, as he truly ſaid, "I do this, not only to note your different diſpoſitions—and growing powers of mind —but for your own good, as you will thank me hereafter, in order to implant in you habits of obſervation, and of method, which will be of mighty uſe to you in your way through the world."

Thus it came to paſs that our Diurnals were part of our daily life, and became a pleaſing duty which never was omitted; and they grew apace, from noting things in brief, to writing long deſcriptions, and recording converſations of the many notable perſons known to my father, who was Alderman of his Ward, and had been both Sheriff

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and Mayor. But of all our father's friends, the one we boys loved moſt was our near neighbour, Captain *John Smith*, for he liked us well, and would tell us tales of his life by the hour together; ſuch tales as made our blood leap through our veins, and held us with our mouths open, our eyes aſtare, and our hearts going pit-a-pat. Thoſe were the tales for our Diurnals; nor only ſo, we would act them over among us. Sometimes *Dick* would be the Captain, and *Harry* would be the Turbaſhaw, whilſt *I* and *Jack* were *Grualgo* and *Bonny Mulgro*, or one of us would be *Smith*, and the others Indians; and, indeed, we taught our little ſiſter *Mary* ſo well, that ſhe would play the part of *Pocahontas* to admiration.

Now that I am writing the Captain's ſtory from thoſe old leaves, with their faded ink and ſchoolboy writing, how vividly I call to mind how that ſtory was told, and methinks I now ſee our dear old friend in his big, high-backed arm-chair, with his tankard of ſpiced ale, a roaſted apple bobbing in it, and his pipe of *Virginia* (for he had uſed to drink Tobacco), and with his hand, perhaps, on *Dick's* curly pate; for we boys would ſit on footſtools round him, or lie on the floor with our elbows on the ground, and our chins reſting on our wriſts, drinking in every precious word with great eagerneſs.

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His countenance was ſomewhat rugged and weather-beaten, as whoſe, indeed, would not be, after leading a life of ſuch adventure? But though the crow's-feet were about the corners of his eyes, and the wrinkles in his forehead, his complection was ruddy, although ſunburnt, and he had a pleaſant ſmile and a loud cheery laugh. It is true that his hair was getting ſomewhat thin atop of his head, but it was of a fine warm brown colour, though ſomewhat ſtreaked with grey, and it was curly and long enough to reach his ruff or ſtanding collar. He wore on his face all the hair that nature had given him, but his thick, griſled beard was carefully trimmed, and his whiſkers* were ſtrong and briſtly, and were trained ſo as not to come over his mouth, and be in the way of his eating and drinking, but ſtraight out on each ſide, which made him look very fierce, and like the old lion that he was.

And yet he was not old, for he was but in the 53rd year of his age, when it pleaſed the Lord to call him to Himſelf; but his many perils and privations had told upon him, and the pain of that terrible wound he had received, when he was treacherouſly blown up, would at times, in ſpite of his ſtout heart, bring a look of care and trouble

* Mouſtaches.

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upon his countenance. He was about the laſt of Queen *Elizabeth's* old adventurers—men, who like *Davis*, and *Frobiſher*, would ſtart on a voyage, the end of which none could foretell, with but ſcant means, either of men or of victual, and with ſhips all too ſmall; yet they recked little, but kept their eyes ſteadily fixed on the purport of their expedition, and *did it* if it was in the power of man to do. Perhaps you will ſay that the hope of gain was the power that urged them on. I think not. Undoubtedly it had ſomewhat to do with it, for the riches that *Cortes, Pizarro*, and *Hernandez de Soto* met with were enough to make men's mouths water. Who knew but what Captain *Smith*, too, in ſome Indian land, as yet unknown, but to be by him diſcovered, might not meet with a people who valued not gold nor pearls, ſave for their prettineſs, and would fain exchange them for beads, and knives, and looking-glaſſes. Everything that was unknown was, of courſe, magnificent. Yet I think it was more the love of adventure, than of gain, that led them on, for they muſt have ſeen that no Engliſhman ever made his fortune through his adventures, although he might be honoured, in his lifetime, and make for himſelf a name in the hiſtory of his country.

This was ſpecially the caſe with Captain *John Smith*, who, although he had, in his latter days,

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enough of this world's riches to ſuffice for his ſimple wants, had got but little pelf, and not even the barren honour of a knighthood, from his long life of toil and adventure. In his very own words now lying before me, and which, methinks, I can hear him ſpeaking yet once more, let him tell his own ſtory. "Having ſpent ſome five years, and more than five hundred pounds in procuring the Letters Patent and ſetting forward, and near as much more about *New England*, &c. Thus theſe nineteen years I have here and there not ſpared anything according to my ability, nor the beſt advice I could, to perſuade how thoſe ſtrange miracles of miſery might have been prevented, which lamentable experience plainly taught me of neceſſity muſt enſue, but few would believe me till now too dearly they have paid for it. Wherefore, hitherto, I have rather left all, than undertake impoſſibilities, or any more ſuch coſtly taſks at ſuch chargeable rates; for in neither of thoſe two countries have I one foot of land, nor the very houſe I builded, nor the ground I digged with my own hands, nor even any content or ſatisfaction at all, and I ſee ordinarily thoſe two countries ſhared before me by them that neither have them, nor know them, but by my deſcription."

This was not ſaid in a ſpirit of grumbling—for he was too large-hearted for that—but there is no

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doubt he did feel keenly, not his want of fortune or title, but the fact that in his mature years he was ſet aſide for younger men, who had none of his experience, except that which they might learn from him. Better by far, for the Colony of *Virginia*, would it have been, had my old friend been ſent out to ſettle their difficulties, for his good ſound ſenſe, his active mind, his undaunted courage and his long-ſighted ſagacity, eminently fitted him for a poſition of command. But it was ordered otherwiſe, and our old friend was left at home in his laſt years in neglect—but not in idleneſs, for he could not be idle: indeed, he was hard at work writing a *Hiſtory of the Sea* when he died.

So he perforce ſtayed at home, and in his leiſure hours told his adventures to us boys, and, methinks, I cannot do better than to tell the ſtory of his life to you, my reader, as near as poſſible as he told it to us; it will be better than if I put it in my own words, yet muſt it needs lack the thrilling intereſt of a narrative perſonally delivered.

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DISCOVRSES

OF

Captain IOHN SMITH.

CHAPTER I.

I WAS born in the year 1579;* that year when Jack Spaniard invaded *Ireland*, bringing with him a holy banner bleſſed by the *Pope*. Much blood and time it took before the rebellion was put down, and the Dons were all either killed, or put in ward. But the work was done thoroughly, and with a good heart, ſo that none, methinks, ever went back home to tell the tale. Ha! but we paid them out well, and made them dance a Coranto to a pretty tune when they tried the ſame ſport, on a larger ſcale, with their Invincible Armada. Invincible, quotha! my Lord *Howard* and his old ſea-dogs found joints enow in their harneſs, I trow; and *Ireland* proved even more unkind to them than before, for ſeventeen of their ſhips were taken or deſtroyed, and much over 5,000

* He was baptized on 6th Jan., 1579, and his baptiſmal regiſter is ſtill to be ſeen at Willoughby, Lincoln.

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men were killed or taken priſoners on that coaſt, which, I warrant me, they love not now.

I mind the time well, though I was but a youngſter of nine years old, for the whole land was drunk with joy, and of courſe my native village muſt be a piece with the reſt of the world. My Lord *Willoughby* did give two great oxen to be roaſted, and alſo good ſtrong October; both of which were given without ſtint to all comers. Ay, and he provided alſo a bull to be baited, which was the firſt I had ever ſeen of that rare ſport. I remember it ſo well, more by token that our dog *Tyke* muſt needs be very valiant and join in the fray, but he limped on three legs ever after, and it had nigh coſt him his life but for the great care, and good nurſing, he received.

There was dancing round the May-pole, too, and it would have been kept up till night, but old *Jack* the crowder* got overcome early in the afternoon with too much October, which he kept pouring down to make his arm liſſome, for he ſaid it ached with conſtant work; ſo many of us betook ourſelves to *Alford*, to ſee the two Frenchmen with their bear and monkey.

And the year after, too, did Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *John Norris* give the Dons and Portugos

* Fiddler.

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a pretty fright, when they marched up to *Liſbon*, and laid the country waſte. With all this, can any man having a grain of ſenſe wonder that there never can be peace beyond the Line? It is all very well at home here to be commonly civil, and a man may even go ſo far as to ſay, ſhould he meet a Don, "Tengo el honor de ſaludar á uſted, Caballero," but once acroſs the Line I hold there ſhould be no peace. *Neptune's* baptiſm waſhes away all cuſtoms and civilities due to them, and the motto of every good Engliſhman ſhould be, all over the *Spaniſh Main*, "Guerra al cuchillo."

My birthplace was the village of *Willoughby* in *Lincolnſhire*, about three miles from *Alford*, and ſeven miles from *Spilſby*, and it has belonged for many hundreds of years to the family of the *Willoughbys*, although when my Lord was made a Baron, in the reign of that peerleſs virgin, Her Majeſty the Queen *Elizabeth*, he took the ſtyle of *Willoughby d'Ereſby* from his mansion of that name near *Spilſby*. My father was a yeoman, and came of a good ſtock, the ancient family of Smiths, of *Crudley* in *Lancaſhire;* while my dear mother came from the family of the *Rickards*, who had uſed to live in *Great Heck* in *Yorkſhire*. She was called to her reſt when I was but young, and my father ſorrowed greatly, but I myſelf mind little of her, ſave that ſhe was always kind and gentle with me, whilſt

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my father, as is the wont of many men, was ſomewhat haſty, and apt to be cholerick.

He, good man, would fain have me book-learned, and in his heart he had, I believe, a great wiſh that, when old enough, I ſhould enter the Church; but books were not to my taſte. I was ſent to *Alford*, to the Free School there, as being the beſt place for learning, not too far from home. It had not been long founded by a merchant of *Alford* named *Spanning** for the godly and virtuous education of the youth of *Alford* and the neighbourhood, and to teach the A B C, and alſo to read both Engliſh and Latin. But I was young and ſilly, and although I maſtered the A B C and my hornbook, yet I made not much progreſs in my Engliſh and Latin, ſo that my father, whoſe deareſt wiſh it was that I ſhould be a ſcholar—in which, doubtleſs, he was moſt right—removed me from *Alford*, and ſent me to the Grammar School at *Louth*, which was founded by His Majeſty *Edward* the Sixth, of pious memory, who endowed it with the property of ſome of the ancient guilds of the town, and the tolls of ſome markets or fairs.

It has turned out many fair ſcholars, but I was not among them. I learned more of the ferula than the Latin grammar, for many beatings did I

* 1565.

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receive, not only for my lack of induſtry, but for ſtraying out of bounds, birds'-neſting, orchard robbing, and other acts of miſchief and childiſh roguery, until I ſickened of being always chid, and made up my mind to run away and go to ſea. I know not why boys who are impatient of reſtraint always think of this. Perhaps they are like the young turtles, whoſe parent, having laid her eggs in the ſand, well in ſhore, leaves them to be hatched by the warmth of the ſun. What does my little turtle as ſoon as he is hatched? Why, he makes direct for the ſea. You may turn him round, and try and force him inland, but you cannot conquer his inſtinct and liking for the ſea; and the moment he is let alone he will make ſtraight for the water.

Matters had got to ſuch a pitch with me, and I had ſo ſet my mind upon brave adventures, and to get ſomehow to the ſea, that I ſearched about for the means—one of which was money—for I had ſenſe enough to know that I muſt have food on my journey. At laſt I found a man who conſented to purchaſe my ſatchell, books, and all that I had, for a trifle. He muſt have been a ſcurvy knave, to have taken advantage of the want of knowledge in a child, nor only ſo, but to cozen him out of ſome paltry coins into the bargain. However, at the time, I thought not of it; indeed, I thought it was very good and kind of him to help me.

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With my little ſtore of caſh in my pocket, I turned back to ſchool, meaning to take the firſt opportunity to eſcape, when on my arrival, I was told that the head maſter would fain ſee me at once. I liked not this, for my interviews with him were never very pleaſant ones, at leaſt, not for me, and beſides, I knew I had done wrong, and was going to run away. Methought, perhaps he has found it out, and knows all about it, and my face was very red, and my body very warm all over, when I reached his room. But what ſurpriſed me moſt was that he told me in a very ſoft and gentle manner to be ſeated, and then he regarded me with a kind and compaſſionate look, and ſaid, as if to himſelf, "Poor boy! poor boy!" At laſt he aſked me how my father was. To which I made anſwer that when laſt I heard of him he was well. At this he ſeemed much ſurpriſed, and told me that for ſome time paſt he had been ailing, then that he was ill; after a pauſe, that he was very ill indeed, and when he had thus led me on, he told me gravely and quietly, that I had a great loſs, but that it was my father's gain; that God had taken him away, and I ſhould never ſee him alive again. For ſome time I could hardly realiſe the blow, but it ſlowly came to my mind, and then I fell to a ſobbing as if my heart would break. My good maſter left me to myſelf

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awhile, and when he heard my ſobs getting fainter and quieter, he came back and told me that as ſoon as arrangements could be made to ſend me home, he would do ſo. On the morrow a fitting opportunity ſerved, and I went home in time for the funeral, which, I remember, was at night by torch-light, and that everybody, for miles round, came and ate and drank, till they could do ſo no longer.

I was now but thirteen years of age, and quite alone in the world, for although I lived with one of my guardians, yet no heed was taken of me, and I was left to do what I pleaſed. I had liberty enough, in all conſcience, but never a penny in my pocket, for my kind guardians liked my little ſtore of money ſo well that they kept it to themſelves, and gave me none of it, which had one effect, that I could not get beyond ſea, though I had not loſt the hankering for it. So things went on until I was fifteen years of age, when they, for very ſhame, could not keep a great hulking fellow like me idling about and doing nothing. So they therefore bound me apprentice to one Maſter *Thomas Sendall*, of *Lynn*, in *Norfolk*, who was the greateſt merchant of all thoſe parts, with whom I was not long, for I diſliked the work about the warehouſes, and the general diſcipline, being as yet untamed. Neither did I like the ſtate of ſervitude I was in. I muſt not ſpeak to my maſter or miſtreſs, even out

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of doors, unleſs bareheaded; I muſt always call them Sir, and Madam, and wait upon them at meals, getting the half-cold ſcraps afterwards, as my ſhare of the feaſt. I hated wearing the flat cap, the badge of the 'prentice; in ſhort, I could be content with nothing. All I wanted, and the only thing that would ſatisfy me, was to go to ſea; and at length, weary of my ſervice, I aſked Maſter *Sendall* one day to ſend me to ſea, at which he only laughed, ſaying, "No, *John*, I have needs of thee on land. Thou art my apprentice, lad, and wouldeſt be of no ſervice to me at ſea." "Thy ſlave, more likely," thought I. So after thinking it over all night as I lay awake, immediately breakfaſt was over, I managed to ſlip out, and fairly ran away, and I ſaw not Maſter *Sendall* again for the ſpace of eight years.

This was the beginning of my life of adventure. I ſhould never have ſettled down to the quiet life of a merchant; my blood was too quick and mercurial, and my limbs were meant for other work than to ſtand behind a counter, and ſerve goods. Every man to his taſte, and I never have regretted that I ran away, although my life has been ſomewhat of a rough one.

I managed to get back to *Willoughby*, and there, my guardians not caring to have me again on their hands, thought to provide for me, by getting

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leave for me to go with young Mr. *Peregrine Bertie*, who was going to *Orleans* to join his brother *Robert*, who afterwards became Earl of *Lindſey* and Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*. They were the ſons of that noble man, and famous ſoldier, the Right Honourable Peregrine *Lord Willoughby d'Ereſby*, who was chriſtened *Peregrine* becauſe he was born when his father and mother were voyaging in foreign parts. My guardians liberally gave me (out of mine own eſtate) ten ſhillings to get rid of me, and this was the modeſt fortune with which I ſtarted in life.

Now, indeed, this was the life I loved. Here was I, the runaway apprentice, transformed into the companion, albeit alſo the page, of a young nobleman, with brave clothes on my back, and a horſe to carry me. Ha! Maſter *Sendall*, would thou couldeſt have ſeen me then. I fear me thou wouldeſt not have known thy ſullen apprentice in this gay young ſpark that curvetted and caracoled along, ſinging gaily for pure joy.

'Tis true, I ſang another tune very ſhortly after we left *Dover*, for the ſea, of which I was ſo fond, did not ſeem to love me much, but treated me very roughly, and, being new to it, ofttimes I thought our little bark would have been ſwallowed up by the waves, and that we ſhould all be drowned. Yet this feeling ſoon diſappeared when

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we ſet foot on ſhore at *Calais*, where every other ſenſation did give place to admiration; for all things, the place, the people, and the language, were new.

We ſtayed no longer at *Calais* than to reſt and recover from the effects of our voyage, and to buy freſh horſes, and then we ſtarted on our journey.

When we came to *Orleans* we found my young nobleman's brother, with his tutor, or governor, who was to take them, and ſhow them the chief cities of *Europe*.

And here a miſhap befel me, for their governor thought there were as many people attendant on his charge as was neceſſary, and that a new arrival like myself, was one too many, ſo he decided that I ſhould return to *England*. This was ſomewhat hard on a boy of fifteen years old, and my Mr. *Peregrine* did loudly intercede for me to be allowed to ſtay, but the governor was obdurate, and read him a long lecture on the virtue of obedience to thoſe ſet over him: ſo that he was ſilenced, if not convinced. But, if I had to part from them, they were determined I ſhould not go empty-handed, ſo theſe two honourable brethren gave me money more than ſufficient to meet my charges, and we ſaid good-bye to each other.

With money in my pocket, good clothes on my back, and my own maſter, with perfect liberty to

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come and go as I would, do you think I was going to return to *England?* Indeed, no! that was the fartheſt from my thoughts. I went to *Paris*, into which the King had lately entered, and where an Engliſhman was ſure of a hearty welcome; for was not our moſt gracious Queen helping the French King, with both men and money, to drive the raſcal Don out of his dominions? And in truth I did mightily enjoy myſelf, and ſo did an acquaintance that I made, one Maſter *David Hume*, a Scotchman, who ſhowed me all the ſights of the city, and, perhaps, thinking that this conſiderate behaviour ought to be rewarded, took to borrowing my money, as long as I had any to lend. Maſter *Hume* talked greatly of his friends in *Scotland*, how powerful they were, and ſo forth, and by way of acknowledgment of my loans, which I think he did never intend to repay, he gave me ſome letters to theſe mighty friends, to prefer me to the Scotch King for employment, and he would have me think that this was a certainty, for, after he had given them to me, he would ofttimes ſay, "There, lad, now is thy fortune made." I never thought at that time, but have done many a time ſince, why, if his friends were ſo powerful, did he not uſe their intereſt in his own behalf, inſtead of borrowing my money?

However, with theſe letters in my boſom, I felt

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mighty fine, and ſtarted on my journey homewards. I was ſo young that I did not know the value of money, and ſo it fell out that by the time I had got to *Rouen*, I found I had nothing like enough to take me to *England*, ſo I made my way as beſt I could to *Havre de Grace*, where were ſome Engliſh troops, a portion of Sir *John Norris's* force, then helping King *Henry*. Being a ſtout and luſty lad, without friends and with no two coins to jingle againſt each other in my pocket, needs muſt that I ſhould turn ſoldier, and they never ſaid me nay. I was ſtrong enough to handle a pike, and, although the morion, back and breaſt plates, and buff coat were ſomewhat heavy, and hot, at ſtarting, yet every day I got more uſed to them, until I felt them not; and, beſides, I was then ſo mighty proud of being a ſoldier, that I would have borne anything, no matter what hardſhip, without complaining, and with a ſmile upon my face.

I ſaw no ſervice, however, in France, and indeed I was not ſorry, for I had much to learn; I knew nought of martial exerciſes, or even the words of command, or of the different movements by which bodies of diſciplined men are made effective in warfare. I had to learn all the terms of fortification, for I knew not a counterſcarp from a traverſe, or a baſtion. Nor was it poſſible for me to be actively employed, for, when our troops and

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the French together had driven Jack Spaniard out of *Brittany*, our Queen recalled her forces under Sir *John Norris*, and sent them ſtraitways to *Ireland* to put down the rebels there.

But ſtill there was work to do, and I was in love with a ſoldier's life; my comrades had been kind in teaching me, and I had been willing to learn. So it came to paſs that when Sir *John Norris* left, ſome of us adventurers, or volunteers, ſtayed behind, for the Spaniard was far ſuperior in number to the French, in the *Low Countries*, ſo that the French, now they had no longer the Engliſh to help them, were fain to aſk the Hollander to come to their aſſiſtance, which he did, both with men and money. Captain *Joſeph Duxbury* was making up a company, and I joined him, and ſerved under his colours ſome four years. We were ſomewhat of a motley lot, for, as the French King could not truſt his own troops by themſelves, he was very glad of help elſewhere, and no adventurer was ever turned away. There were Engliſh pikemen, German lanſquenets, and the Switzer, who is always ready for a fight, provided that the pay is good, and reaſonably certain. Among them all I learned how to take care of myſelf, and I well call to mind that there are worſe places than the *Low Countries* to live in, provided a man will look to himſelf, and is not ſqueamiſh.

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Peace was concluded in May, 1598, and this threw me out of work, so that I felt the neceſſity of doing ſomewhat to further my fortunes. So I bethought me of the letters I had from Maſter *David Hume* to his kinſmen in *Scotland*, and I felt ſure, now I could ride a horſe, could uſe my weapons with effect, and coming ſtraight from the martial ſchools of the *Low Countries*, that an appointment of no mean ſort would be the fruits of their influence with the King of *Scotland*. So, finding a ſhip that was about to ſail to *Leith*, I took a paſſage in her, but we had a ſtormy and diſaſtrous voyage, being ſhipwrecked by ſtriking on ſome rocks off *Holy Iſland*, near *Berwick*. Luckily it was daylight, and I managed to reach the ſhore on ſome floating wreckage, but was ſore buffeted and bruiſed by the waves and rocks before I got on hard ground. The poor folk here were very kind to us, after they had reſcued all they could for themſelves from the wreck; but my bruiſes, and my bath, were too much for me, and I felt grievouſly ſick of a fever. For a long time I lay there, not knowing whether I ſhould live or die, but the ſimples my nurſes gave me, and my natural good conſtitution, got me through it, and although, when the fever left me, I was very weak, yet I ſoon felt hungry, and began to eat hugely, ſo that my ſtrength came back to me.

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With ſome difficulty I made my kind friends accept of ſome ſlight payment for the trouble they had been at with me, and I left them, walking along the cauſeway which connects the Iſland with the main land, at ebb tide, having had enough, for a time, of the ſea, and ſet out on foot to deliver my letters. But how ſhall I tell of my bitter diſappointment? Maſter *Hume's* fine friends turned out to be very decent people, and grudged me nothing in their hoſpitality. As a friend of their *Davie*, all that they had was at my diſpoſal, but they utterly lacked, as he muſt have well known, the power to help me. They had no ſort of influence at Court, and indeed they told me that if they had, nothing could be done without money, which muſt be given away judiciouſly; ſo I had to put the beſt face upon it that I could, and make the beſt of a bad bargain.

Of courſe it was no uſe ſtopping there, ſo I bade them farewell, with many thanks on my part for their kind hoſpitality, (nor would they let me go unleſs I promiſed to return very ſhortly, and pay each of them a long viſit in turn,) and ſet my face toward my native village.

It was worſe at *Willoughby*, for I was there looked upon as a prodigy—one that had ſeen the world, had travelled in foreign parts, and could ſpeak with foreign tongues, nay, had fought hand

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to hand with the hated Spaniard. Never had they ſeen or heard tell of the like, and I knew not a moment's reſt; nothing but feaſting and drinking, viſiting and being viſited, ſo that in a ſhort time I was glutted with too much company, wherein I took ſmall delight, and being aweary of it all, I put a ſtop to it by turning a kind of Eremite. That is to ſay, I retired myſelf into a little woody paſture, a good way from any town, environed with many hundred acres of other woods, and there, by a fair brook, I built myſelf a little hut, or pavilion, of boughs, and there, on a bed of leaves, I did uſe to lie at night and ſleep in my clothes.

It was a pleaſant enough life while it laſted, for my wants were few, and were all ſatisfied. The woods ſupplied me with food, and even veniſon was not lacking at my meals, and in hunting and cooking, a good portion of my day went. Beſides which, I had my horſe to groom, water, and exerciſe, and, having my lance with me, I would practiſe tilting at the ring, and other martial ſports. Was I ſtudious? I had *Niccolo Macchiavelli's* Book of the Art of War, and *Marcus Aurelius* as well; and did I lack anything? a man paid me a viſit now and then, and brought me all I needed. This my life, however, was not deſtined to be of long continuance, for it ſet people's tongues a

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wagging, as they marvelled hugely at my turning Eremite; ſo, by way of drawing me from my retreat, they perſuaded a noble Italian gentleman, Signor *Theodora Polaloga*, who was of the houſehold of *Henry*, Earl of *Lincoln*, to pay me a viſit. He was a man of totally different ſtamp to my country acquaintances. His companionſhip charmed me. He had travelled and read much, and ſpoke ſeveral languages; moreover, he was a moſt noble and excellent horſeman, and, what with the charms of his converſation, and the glowing accounts he gave me of the many horſes I ſhould have to ride, if I would but pay him a viſit at my Lord of *Lincoln's* place at *Tatterſhall*, I at laſt conſented, and went with him. But I ſoon wearied of it; this ſort of life did not content me; I was uſed to one of more action, and I could ſtay no longer in *England*, ſo I took ſhip, intending once more to viſit the *Low Countries*, with which I was familiar, and which, at that time, was the ſchool of war for all Europe—a ſort of centre from whence forces could be recruited for any purpoſe, and where a ſoldier of fortune was ſure of employment.

On my arrival, I found that fighting was to be done with the Emperor *Sigiſmund* againſt the Turk, and, as I would much rather cut heathen, than Chriſtian throats, I made up my mind to proceed thither, and put my ſword at the Emperor's diſpoſal.

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And now I muſt tell of a moſt notable villany which happened unto me. I fell in company with four French gallants, nice pleaſant fellows, full of good comradeſhip, but who were four of the greateſt rogues unhung, as you ſhall hear. If you pleaſe, what ſhould one of them feign himſelf to be but a great Lord, and the other three were his friends, and they were all well attended.

Mighty kind they all were to me, knowing all the time—the ſcoundrel knaves!—the trick they were going to play me. Oh, yes! and was I really going to fight the Turk? that was exactly what *my Lord* would like to do, and he could have his will, but he had his duties to attend to in *France*. However, *my Lord* was glad it was in his power to be of ſome aſſiſtance to me, and that he would be only too happy to afford. He had taken a violent fancy to me, and if I would but accompany him to *France*, why, he would introduce me to no leſs a perſon than the Ducheſs of *Mercury*, with whom he was ſo intimate, that on his repreſentation, ſhe would inſtantly write me letters of favour to her Noble Lord, the Duke, who was then General to the Emperor *Rudolf*, in *Hungary*. What a poor, ſilly boy I then was! I believed them thoroughly, and ſurely thought I was now on the high road to fame and fortune—and how the villains muſt have chuckled ſecretly to them-

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ſelves, knowing all the time the ſcurvy trick they did intend to play me.

I joined them, and took a paſſage with them in the ſame ſhip, and, in the innocence of my heart, I delighted to ſhow them that I had plenty of good apparel, and moreover, that my pouch was well lined. We had a ſomewhat rough paſſage, it being winter-tide, and when we came to the broad ſhallow inlet of *St. Valerie ſur Somme*, the arch Knave, *my Lord*, who had agreed the plot with the raſcal captain, did ſo arrange that their, and my, trunks were with themſelves landed, and the boat was to return for me. After ſome time methought the boat was ſomewhat tardy in coming back, and, to ſhorten my tale, I waited in good ſooth all the next day until towards the evening, when the boat returned, and the captain came aboard. Oh, he had his lie all ready and pat; the ſea had been ſo high he could not put off before; indeed, his coming then was at the peril of his life. "Well," ſaid I, "if ſuch be the caſe, put me on ſhore now, that I may join my Lord and his comrades." Then began he to ſtammer ſomewhat, and ſaid my Lord had gone to *Amiens*, and had ſent word by him that he would there ſtay my coming. But there were ſome ſoldiers on board, one of whom, I found out afterwards, knew my knaves, and as they had ſeen more of the world than I had, they cried

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"ſhame" upon the captain for being in league with ſuch rogues. The paſſengers alſo joined in the ſame chorus, and there was ſuch an outcry, that the captain was nigh being ſlain for his treacherous villany, and there was great talk of ſeizing the ſhip, which aſſuredly would have been done, had they only known how to navigate her.

When the hubbub had ſomewhat calmed down, I reflected that I could do no good by ſtopping on board the ſhip, ſo I was put on ſhore, having but one coin in my pocket, and that about the value of an Engliſh penny, ſo that I was in great ſtraits; ſo much ſo, that I had to ſell my cloak to pay for my paſſage. And, indeed, it had fared hard with me, had not one of the ſoldiers who had been on board, called *Curzianovere*, proved himſelf a true comrade to me. He, it ſeems, knew *my Lord*, and he told me that this great Seigneur, *my Lord Depreau*, was nought but the ſon of a lawyer in *Lower Brittany*, and his companions, who were named *Curſell*, *La Nelie*, and *Monferrat*, were three young citizens, as arrant cheats as *my Lord*. He ſaid if I would go with him, he would bring me to their friends, and, in the mean time, I muſt ſhare his purſe. I thankfully accepted his offer as frankly as it was made, and we ſet out upon our journey.

We travelled together till we came to *Mortain*

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in *Normandy*, where we found *Depreau*, from whom, alas! I could get no ſatisfaction, but the news of his cozenage made me kind friends everywhere.

Here I parted from my comrade, and wandered about from port to port, trying in vain to find ſome man-of-war, until at laſt all my money had been ſpent, and I was reduced to ſuch diſtreſs, that one day, going through a foreſt, I ſank down by a fair ſpring, nearly dead with cold and grief. Here, without doubt, I ſhould have periſhed, had not a rich farmer paſſed by that way, and he, like the good Samaritan, relieved me, to my great content, and kindly tended me until I was again able to go on my way.

Ah! but my journey was not all ſorrowful. I had my little bit of fun, and it was none the worſe in that I had it all to myſelf. One day, as I was paſſing through a great grove of trees between *Pontorſon* and *Dinan*, who think you that I came ſuddenly upon? It was one of my knaves called *Curſell*, and he was even in more evil caſe than I was. You may fancy I did not ſtop long a bowing to him, my injuries were too late, and too keen; and he, too, knew what it muſt come to; ſo without even a word paſſing between us, we both drew our ſwords, and flew at each other. The fight laſted but a little time, for I ſore wounded Maſter *Curſell*,

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and he fell to the ground, and, the village folks coming around, I made him confeſs his villany before them; and then he told us how, in the dividing of the ſpoil, the rogues fell out among themſelves, but that for his part he was quite innocent in the matter. The canting knave was not worthy of being kicked, and ſeeing that he was ſore hurt, I cared not to be further cumbered with him, ſo I left him among the villagers.

I bethought me of a nobleman with whom I was acquainted, and who lived not far from hence; the Earl of *Ployer*, who during the war in *France* had been brought up in *England*, together with his two brethren. I called on him, and was by him welcomed right heartily, ſo that I was better refurniſhed than ever. I ſtayed with him for ſome days, during which time I was ſhown all the places of note within the neighbourhood, and, when I took my leave, I was provided with plenty of money for my charges.

I will not weary you with the ſtory of my journey to the ſouth of *France*, whither I was bound; ſuffice it that in due time I came to *Marſeilles*. Here I found a ſhip ſailing for *Italy*, ſo I embarked in her, but the ſhip was driven by ſtreſs of weather into *Toulon*. When the ſtorm ſomewhat abated we ſet ſail once more, but it came on again to blow, and although it was not more than an Engliſh ſea-

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man would laugh at, yet the ſailors in thoſe parts are very timorous, and too much given to calling upon ſaints to help them, and not reefing their ſails themſelves. So we muſt needs creep in ſhore and anchor cloſe to the little iſland of *St. Mary*, which is cloſe by *Nice*, in the Duchy of *Savoy*.

I had noted that, for ſome time paſt, my fellow-voyagers, who were moſtly a rabble of pilgrims going to *Rome*, had looked aſkant at me, and formed in little knots muttering, whilſt ſome went from group to group whiſpering, but always caſting a glance at me. I cared not for the rudeneſs of their manners, for I had no knowledge of having done aught to offend them. At laſt they began to curſe at me, which I repaid as beſt I could; and then they took to calling me a Huguenot, thereby intending to reproach me with being of the Proteſtant religion —they could not ſay enough to inſult me. I was Engliſh dog, Engliſh thief, Engliſh pirate— all Engliſhmen were pirates; and they wildly railed againſt my dread ſoverain, Queen *Elizabeth*, and, what think you it came to laſt of all? *They never ſhould have fair weather as long as I was aboard.* I was *Jonah*, and they were ſuffering for my wickedneſs. So it came to paſs, that from words, they began to huſtle me about, againſt which I defended myſelf as well as I could, but, owing to their numbers, I was but a child in their hands, and, when the cries

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of *Jonah* got louder and louder, I was ſeized hold of and thrown overboard.

The diſtance between the ſhip and the iſland was not great, and I was a good ſwimmer, ſo that I was not very long before I was on firm land, although I was ſomewhat bruiſed and ſore from being daſhed againſt the rocks, and ſcrambling among them to get a landing. Yet was I thankful, for I had rather be alone by myſelf, in any land, than in the midſt of ſuch a crew of howling devils as I had juſt been. There was light enough for me to ſee what ſort of place I was caſt on, and I found there were no houſes, or inhabitants, and only a few kine and

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goats. So I got the beſt ſhelter I could, and lay down in my wet things to ſleep.

The next morning, when it was dawn, I perceived two ſhips anchored cloſe to the iſland, driven alſo there for ſhelter from the fury of the weather. I hailed them, and very ſhortly a boat was lowered, and I was fetched off; and when aboard of one of them, the *Bretagne*, I was well refreſhed, and ſo kindly uſed, that I was fain to caſt in my lot with them. More eſpecially, when the captain of the veſſel, Captain *La Roche*, of *Saint Malo*, knew that I was a friend of Earl *Ployer*, who was his near neighbour when he was on land, and at home, he was very kind to me, and entertained me with the beſt he had, for the Earl's ſake. Our ſhip was oſtenſibly for trading purpoſes, but Captain *La Roche* had other ideas in his head, and ſailed to *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. Here we diſcharged our cargo, and afterwards viſited ſeveral ports, merely to ſee what manner of veſſels were about; and then we cruiſed about and lay to, between the iſland of *Corfu* and *Cape Otranto*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, that is, at the entrance of the *Adriatic Sea*.

We had not long been cruiſing about, when we eſpied a Venetian Argoſy, which was ſure to be richly laden. My captain bore down upon her, as if he were deſirous to ſpeak her, but the Venetian, not liking our looks, and having a moſt rich cargo

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aboard, fired a ſhot at us to make us ſheer off. Although this ſhot killed us a man, yet did our captain rejoice, for it gave him the very opportunity he wanted, of attacking the Argoſy, although it was double our ſize. We had privily made ready for action beforehand, and we at once gave the enemy our broadſide, then our ſtern guns, and our other broadſide. The Venetian would not wait to fight us, but endeavoured to outſail us, ſo we had to purſue, uſing our chaſe guns, and with them we did ſo maul her ſails and tackling, that ſhe was at laſt fain to lie to and defend herſelf, exchanging ſhot for ſhot.

When ſhe hove to we grappled her, and twice in an hour and a half did we board her, but they managed to get clear, and at the third time the enemy ſucceeded in ſetting our ſhip on fire. This was a ſore trouble to us, as it divided our crew, and, of courſe, thoſe who were putting out the fire could not fight; but at laſt, and with ſome difficulty, the flames were quenched. This fire ſerved us a good purpoſe, for it ſo enflamed our men with rage, that each man fought like three, and went at their work luſtily, and with a will. Nay, the gunners were more careful than ever over laying their pieces, and ſhot her ſo oft between wind and water, that the enemy was beginning to ſink, which perceiving, they yielded, and we ceaſed firing.

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Our work was not yet done, indeed we had a buſy time of it to come—for, beſides that we had loſt fifteen of our crew in this action, part of us had to ſtop the leaks, to prevent her ſinking; more had to guard the priſoners, whom we chained together; and part, of courſe, rifled the ſhip. I worked with this party, and we kept hard at it for twenty-four hours. What can I ſay of the exceeding riches of this veſſel? Indeed it was no wonder they defended it ſo ſtubbornly and valiantly. It was worth having a fight for. Not only was ſhe laden with rich ſilks, velvets, cloth of gold, and rare tiſſues, but ſhe had a goodly ſtore of piaſtres, ſequins, and Turkiſh gold coins. Ah! I like to think of that time; we worked with a will, not only becauſe we were coining money, but we were fain to haſten our work, that we might not be interrupted by any other veſſel, which we might have to fight; and that we wanted not, in our crippled condition. We felt no pain, nor fatigue, until we had loaded our ſhip with all ſhe could carry, and then, ſore againſt our will, we gave over, and ſuddenly became thoroughly tired out with toil. When we caſt her off there was not a man of us but whoſe heart went with her, for ſhe had enough rich ſtuffs left in her yet to freight another *Bretagne*, for our burden was but two hundred tons, whilſt hers was four or five hundred.

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CHAPTER II.

ALTHOUGH we won the fight, yet were we ſore damaged, and our captain would fain have put into ſome port of the coaſt of *Calabria*, to repair and refit; yet, hearing there were ſix or ſeven galleys at Meſſina, he turned for *Malta;* but the wind coming fair, he kept his courſe along the coaſt of *Sicily*, by *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, until he came to the roads of *Antibes*, in *Piedmont*. Here I parted company with my friend Captain *La Roche*, with many kind ſpeeches on both ſides, bidding him to remember me, on his return, to Earl *Ployer*. I landed in far better caſe than when I ſet out, for my ſhare of the ſpoil was valued at five hundred ſequins, which the Captain gave me, and I had, beſides, a little box *which God ſent me*, and, of courſe, I did not refuſe, with near as much more.

Bidding the *Bretagne* good-bye, I ſhipped myſelf on board a veſſel for *Leghorn*, as I wanted to ſee *Italy*. After landing at *Leghorn*, I journeyed through *Tuſcany* without meeting with any adventures, until I came to *Sienna*, where I found thoſe two noble gentlemen, and honourable brethren, my Lord *Willoughby* and his brother. They were in a ſad plight, both being cruelly wounded in a deſperate fray, yet to their exceeding great honour.

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They could hardly believe that the cavalier before them was the ſame as the lad of fifteen, whom they ſent back to his home; and they marvelled greatly when I told them of all my adventures, and how their parting with me had been the means of making a man of me.

With them I abode ſome days, but I was not one who could ſtop long in one place, ſo I ſtarted once more on my travels, nor pauſed until I had reached *Rome*, where I had the good fortune to ſee Pope *Clement* the Eighth, with many Cardinals, creep up the holy ſtairs, which were brought from *Jeruſalem*, and which they ſay are thoſe our Saviour *Chriſt* went up to *Pontius Pilate*. On theſe ſtairs, wherever the drops of blood, cauſed by His being pricked by the crown of thorns, fell, a nail of ſteel is driven in. And up theſe ſtairs none dare go, ſave on their knees, and they muſt kiſs every ſteel nail. Cloſe by, alſo, is a chapel, where hangs a ſilver lamp, which burneth continually, and yet they ſay the oil neither increaſeth nor diminiſheth. I alſo ſaw the *Pope* ſay maſs at the ancient church of Saint *John de Laterane*.

After leaving Rome, I travelled till I came to *Gratz*, in *Styria*, where I met with an Engliſhman, and an Iriſh Jeſuit, and by their means I made the acquaintance of many brave gentlemen of good quality, eſpecially Lord *Eberſhaught*, who was very

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good to me, and introduced me to Baron *Kiſſell*, the General of the Artillery, who, in his turn, made me to know the Earl of *Meldritch*, who had the rank of Colonel in the Army. I joined his regiment, and went with him to *Vienna*.

But I ſtayed not long there, juſt time enough to furniſh myſelf with arms and munitions, and I joined the Army in *Hungary*, where things were going ſomewhat in our diſfavour, the Turk having juſt taken *Caniza*, and was now beſieging the ſtrong town of *Olumpagh*, with twenty thouſand men. My friend, Lord *Eberſhaught*, was ſhut up within the town, but it was inveſted ſo ſtraitly that he was cut off from all intelligence, and hope of ſuccour.

Now it happened that when I had met this nobleman at *Gratz*, he and I had talked over what ſhould be done in a ſimilar ſtate of things, and we had arranged a plan by which we could communicate with each other, without the knowledge of any other perſon. Of this I told our General, Baron *Kiſſell*, and, in truth, it was ſimple enough to thoſe who underſtood it. It was but this: I climbed a mountain, ſeven miles from the city, and there I ſhowed three torches, at equal diſtances from each other. This ſignal the Governor underſtood, and replied to by ſhowing one. Then we commenced operations by ſignalling with the torches. We

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divided the alphabet into two parts, from A to L, and from M to Z. The firſt part, from A to L, was ſignified by ſhowing and hiding one link ſo often as there were letters from A. Thus B would be twice ſhown and C thrice, and ſo on; and from M to Z two torches were employed in the ſame way, and when a word was thus ſpelt three lights were ſhown.

It was thus I ſignalled to him this meſſage: "On Thurſday night I will charge on the eaſt; at the alarum, ſally you;" and *Eberſhaught* replied that he would.

This plan was carried out with ſuch ſucceſs, and with ſo much damage to the Turks, that, in diſguſt, they raiſed the ſiege, and retired to *Caniza*.

For this exploit *Kiſſell* received great honour, and he rewarded me by making me a captain of two hundred and fifty men in the regiment of Colonel *Voldo*, the Earl of *Meldritch*.

Indeed I now felt happy, for I had command of men, who moreover were cavalry, and I thought I ſaw my way into being a great general; but there was a general rumour of peace, and this ſomewhat damped me, being ſo newly promoted. Yet the Turk intended no ſuch matter, but levied ſoldiers from all parts he could. Thus, I could not feel but over-joyed, when news came that the Emperor had raiſed three armies. One of theſe,

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led by the Archduke *Mathias*, the Emperor's brother, who had for his lieutenant Duke *Mercury*,* to whom I was attached, was to defend *Lower Hungary*.

Duke *Mercury* had an army of thirty thouſand men, and with theſe he laid ſiege to *Stal Weiſſenburg* (otherwiſe called *Alba Regalis*), in *Lower Pannonia*, which place was ſo ſtrong, both by nature and art, as to be conſidered impregnable, and the Turks ſallied forth, and did us great hurt, ſlaying many hundreds of our troops, both German and French; but by means of fire-balls, which I cauſed to be thrown into the town, and by aſſaulting the town at an unexpected place, we gained poſſeſſion of it. Then, turning our own, and the captured, cannon upon the Citadel, we reduced it, and Earl *Meldritch* took the Baſhaw priſoner with his own hands.

During this time, the Great Turk *Mahomet*, the third of that name, had raiſed an army of 60,000 men to relieve the town; but the Duke *Mercury*, knowing that this raw levy could not be worth much, left a ſtrong garriſon in *Alba Regalis*, and ſtarted off with 20,000 men to meet the Turk in the plains of *Girke*. The armies met, and fought hand to hand, till the night parted them; by which time

* Mercœur.

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we had well learned not to deſpiſe the raw Turks under *Haſſan*, for the regiment of Earl *Meldritch* was ſurrounded, and we had to cut our way through the enemy. This, at length, we succeeded in doing; but, alas! with the loſs of near half our regiment. I myſelf was ſore wounded, and had my horſe ſhot under me; but I was not long unmounted, for there was choice enough of horſes that wanted maſters.

This reverſe was terrible for us, and we had hard work to hold our own againſt the Turk, when, happily, at the approach of winter, he raiſed the ſiege, broke up his camp, and retired.

Duke *Mercury* now divided his army into three parts; he ſent 7,000 to aſſiſt *Caniza*. The Earl of *Meldritch* with 6,000 men was to aſſiſt *George Buſca* againſt the Tranſylvanians, and the reſt he kept himſelf. The ſtory of his life from this point is very brief. He returned to *Vienna* in great triumph, as if he had conquered all *Hungary*. The Archdukes, and all the nobility, received him with great honour, nay, his very picture was conſidered ſo fortunate, that thouſands kept it as a precious relic. But the day after a feaſt at *Nuremburg* he was found dead, and two days after, his brother-in-law died ſuddenly, and their hearts were ſent into *France*. Much did people goſſip over this, but not loudly, for it is not for the commons to call in queſtion what happens among princes.

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I accompanied Earl *Meldritch*, but he, fearing treachery from *Buſca*, formed the idea of joining his enemy, the Prince Sigiſmund, inſtead, and endeavoured to perſuade his troops to go with him.

Nor did it take much to perſuade them; the promiſe of free liberty to make booty of all they could get poſſeſſion of from the Turks, was ſweet, indeed, to men whoſe pay had not been regular, and who were worn out by hard travel. For myſelf, I owed nothing to the German Emperor, but much to my noble Lord the Earl *Meldritch*, and as, when in *the Low Countries*, I had seen enough of fighting with Chriſtians againſt Chriſtians, ſo that I ſomewhat loathed it, (ſaving againſt a Spaniard,) yet never did I ſee harm in fighting the Turk. So I joined with him heart and ſoul.

I need not to ſay that the Prince was glad of ſo brave a commander as the Earl of *Meldritch*, and the addition to his forces of ſo many expert and ancient ſoldiers; ſo that he gave us all neceſſary relief in the way of proviſions and other things, but alſo what freedom we deſired to plunder the Turks.

The Earl was not a man to remain long idle, ſo, after haraſſing the enemy by all the means in his power, he, being joined by Prince *Moyses* with 9,000 men, lay ſiege to the town of *Regall*.

It was not till we had well ſettled down before

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the town that we found out how hard was the nut we had undertaken to crack; for the plain on which we were entrenched, was ſo commanded by the ordnance of the town, that we ſpent near a month in entrenching ourſelves, and in raiſing our mounts to plant our batteries therein.

Ay, and it galled us much to be taunted and derided by the Turks, for they would call out to us at times, aſking us, "Were our ordnance at pawn?" and they would ſometimes tell us that they could ſee we were growing fat for want of exerciſe. And this, I ſay, nettled us, for we could not as yet help ourſelves; yet to me did it bring a mighty honour, as you ſhall hear.

One day they had been reviling us as uſual, when a trumpet ſounded, and a ſmall company ſallied forth, bearing with them a white flag of truce. They aſked to ſee one of our leading Commanders, and when he had come and demanded their meſſage, they ſaid how it was commonly reported within the town that we ſhould never aſſault their city, but would go as we came, and that, therefore, rather than it ſhould be ſaid we had had no fight with them, and to delight their ladies, who were getting ſomewhat dull by reaſon of their ſeeing no ſport, their lord *Turbashaw* had ſent them with a meſſage, and a challenge to any captain who had command of a company, to fight with the one

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who was willing, and durſt do ſo, each for the other's head.

Think you there was lacking one among us to take up this challenge? I trow not. On the contrary, everyone wanted to fight this proud Turk; and, the ſubject being diſcuſſed, men waxed warm: ſome claimed it as a right, but all wanted to fight. Seeing this, it was propoſed, and in the end decided, that choice ſhould be made by lot, and, to my great delight and pride, the lot fell upon me.

My fellows envied me, as in like caſe I ſhould have envied them, but they cheered me up, and I was overwhelmed by the offer of horſes, arms, and armour. But I would none of them, preferring mine own harneſs, in which I had fought many a time, and which ſhowed by its dints, that it had been well proven.

A truce for a time, until that the combat ſhould be ended, was agreed upon; and, indeed, it was a pretty ſight to ſee—all our troops drawn up in array on three ſides, leaving us a fair field in the centre for the combat, whilſt the walls were crowded by the Turks and their fair dames, whoſe bright-coloured dreſſes lent a charm to the ſcene, which, perhaps, would have been more brilliant had we been able to ſee their faces, which were veiled after their manner. I felt no dread, but my blood ran hot and quick through my veins, as I ſaw this

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noble concourſe, which had met together to ſee either my victory, or my death, and I ſaid to myſelf, "*John Smith*, this day thou haſt need of all thy ſkill and cunning; think of nought but victory, and fight as thou haſt never fought before, for the honour of the army."

The *Turbaſhaw* was the firſt to enter the field,

and he came well mounted and armed—his horſe curvetting and caracoling to the ſound of the hautboys by which he was accompanied. He was indeed mighty fine to behold, for on his ſhoulders were fixed a pair of great wings, moſt curiouſly made of eagles' feathers ſet within a border of ſilver, and his dreſs was richly garniſhed with gold

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and precious ſtones—and he came with a Janizary before him, bearing his lance, and two others, one on each ſide, leading his horſe.

I kept him not long waiting, but with a flouriſh of trumpets, and with only a page bearing my lance, I rode into the ſpace; and after having courteouſly ſaluted my adverſary, I took up my ſtand. All things being arranged, at the ſound of a trumpet we charged, and I had ſuch good ſucceſs, that my lance ſtruck the Turk through the ſight of his helmet, and went through his face, head and all, ſo that he fell to the ground dead: which ſeeing, I alighted, and unbracing his helmet, I cut off his head. As the challenge was only for each other's heads, I deſpoiled not the body, which the Turks took; but, bearing the bleeding trophy, I returned, without having received the ſlighteſt hurt at all. The head I preſented to the Prince *Moyſes*, our General, who kindly accepted it, and I was welcomed back again with joy by the whole army.

The Turks chafed exceedingly at the overthrow of their champion, more eſpecially his boſom friend, who was called *Grualgo;* and he, for very madneſs, ſent me a particular challenge, in order to regain his friend's head, and take mine, or loſe his own—together with his horſe and armour, which were but lawful ſpoil. So next day

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His Combat with GRVALGO. Capt of threehundred horſmen.

was the ſame ſpace cleared, and the ſame ſcene enacted, for I could not with honour have refuſed his challenge, even had I been ſo minded, which I was not.

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At the ſound of the trumpet we made our

charge, and met with a great ſhock, ſo that our lances were completely ſplintered, and the Turk was nigh unhorſed. It had been agreed that in this event our next weapons ſhould be piſtols, ſo wheeling round and again charging, we each diſcharged a ſhot. The Turk's bullet hit me upon the placard or breaſtplate, and glanced off, but mine took effect in his left arm, ſhattering the bone, ſo that it hung helpleſs, and hindered him of all control of his horſe. Whether it was the agony of the wound, or the reſtiveneſs of his horſe, I know not, but the Turk fell to the ground, where he lay bruiſed and ſtunned. Need I ſay, I was ſoon off my horſe—and he loſt his head, as his friend before him. I took, as was agreed, his horſe and armour, but his body, and his rich apparel, were ſent back to the town.

The Turks made ſome ſallies every day, but to none effect, and the ſiege went on but ſlowly, for we had not completed our works and approaches to the neceſſary height. So that to fill up the time, I, being then young, and ſomewhat foolhardy, ſent a meſſage to the ladies of the Turks, that I was not ſo enamoured of their lovers' heads but that I would give them to any one of their rank who would redeem them by combat; but that to win them, he muſt alſo take mine, or I would have his.

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This challenge failed not of its effect, and it was accepted by a Turk of rank called *Bonny Mulgro*. We fought next day on the ſame ground as before, but under ſomewhat different conditions, for the Turk would have no lances—perhaps becauſe he had ſeen how I could handle

one—but had battle-axes in their ſtead. After the trumpet had ſounded, we rode at each other and diſcharged our piſtols, by which no harm was done; and we then fell to with our battle-axes, and that ſo ſtrongly, that ſometimes one, and ſometimes the other, had hard work to keep the

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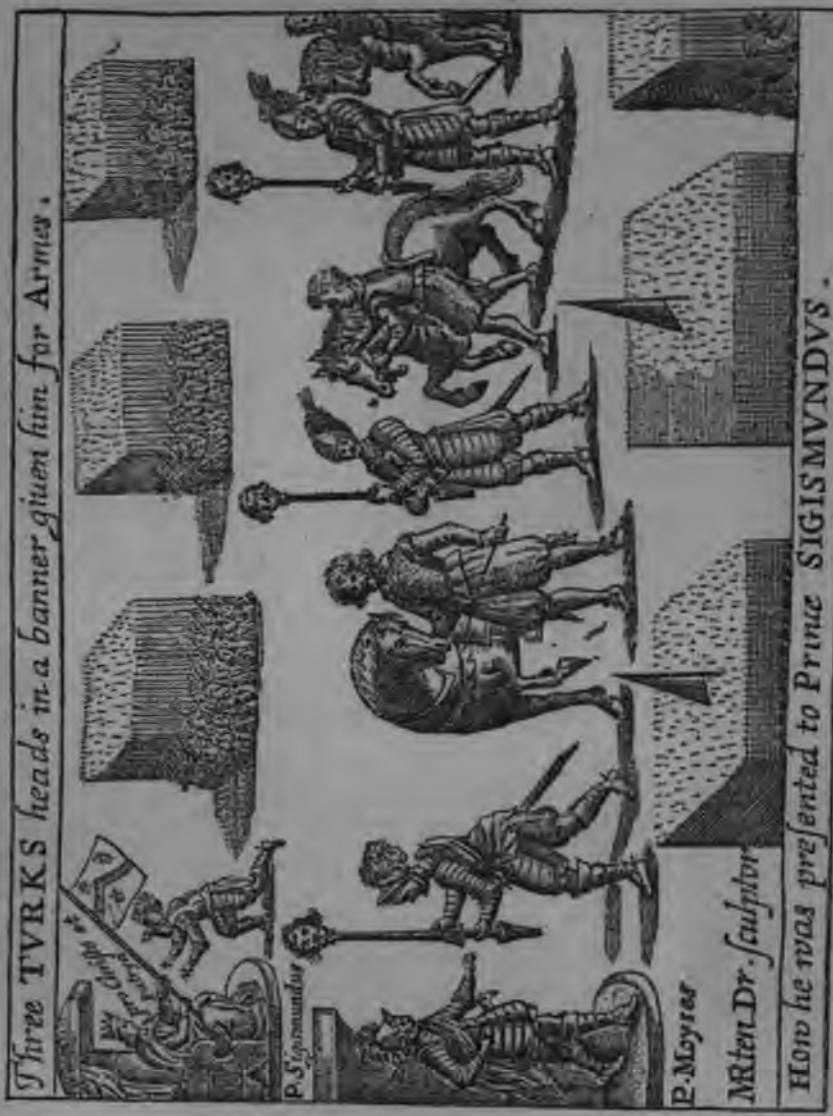

saddle; and, indeed, it was near going hard with me, for I received such a blow that I lost my battle-axe, and was nearly unhorsed; so that a great shout went up from the ramparts, to en-

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courage my adversary. He prosecuted his ad-

vantage to the uttermoſt of his power, and had it not been for the readineſs of my horſe, and my own judgment and dexterity in ſuch matters, I muſt have been ſlain. But by God's aſſiſtance I not only avoided the Turk's violence, but, having drawn my falchion, I pierced him through back and body, ſo that he was obliged to alight from his horſe, and he ſtood not long, ere he loſt his head, as the reſt had done.

The whole army was ſo pleaſed with me that they took me in triumph to the General's pavilion, with a guard of 6,000 men and three ſpare horſes, before each of which was borne a Turk's head upon a lance. Prince *Moyſes* received me with great honour, embracing me with his arms; and gave me a fair horſe richly furniſhed, a scimitar and belt worth three hundred ducats; and Earl *Meldritch* made me Sergeant-Major of his regiment.

CHAPTER III.

SOON afterwards we completed our ſiege operations, having mounted ſix-and-twenty pieces of ordnance fifty or ſixty feet above the plain; and theſe were worked with ſuch good effect, that

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within fifteen days two breaches were made, which the Turks defended as valiantly as men could do, whilſt their ſlothful Governor lay in a caſtle atop of a high mountain, aſking feebly, what the matter was? The general aſſault was made, but our troops ſuffered ſeverely by logs, &c., being rolled down upon them, and bags of gunpowder thrown in their midſt, two regiments loſing half their men in this manner: but at length we overmaſtered them, and gained poſſeſſion of the city; the Turks retiring into the caſtle, from whence they ſent a flag of truce, deſiring terms.

But the Turks had cruelly murdered the father of Earl *Meldritch*, and he forgot it not; ſo that he turned all the ordnance in the town upon the caſtle, and ſo battered it, that next day we took it; and then he did avenge his father's murder; for all that could bear arms were put to the ſword, and their heads ſet upon ſtakes round about the walls, in like manner as they had ſerved the Chriſtians when they took it. Then Prince *Moyſes* had the ramparts repaired, and our works deſtroyed. There was great plunder in the town, for it had, for a long time, been an impregnable den of thieves. Our loſſes, however, had been very great, and Prince *Moyſes*, not thinking the Turks ſufficiently puniſhed, left a ſtrong garriſon in *Regall*, and took and ſacked the towns of

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Veratio, *Salmos*, and *Kuprouka*. After which, with two thousand prisoners, mostly women and children, we went and encamped at *Esenberg*, not far from Prince *Sigismund's* palace.

Here the Prince paid us a visit, and was presented with the prisoners, and six-and-thirty ensigns; and a *Te Deum* was sung, and thanks returned to the Almighty for our victories. And here, also, as if to puff up my pride to the full, Prince *Sigismund* was made acquainted with the services I had done at *Olumpagh*, *Stal Weissenberg*, and *Regall*, and the Prince, at an audience I had with him, gave me great honour, and granted me, by patent, under his hand and seal, a grant of arms: namely, On a shield vert, a chevron gules, between three Turks' heads proper; and for the crest, an Ostrich or, holding in its mouth a horseshoe argent. I had to take an oath ever to wear them in my colours; and, besides this, my gracious Prince gave me his portrait in gold, and three hundred ducats yearly for a pension. I confess that I am, in a great measure, very proud of these arms, and contemplate them frequently with huge satisfaction; for I hold it to be no small matter, that a boy, friendless, and alone in the world, should carve out for himself, entirely by his own deeds, a title to such rewards from his Prince as this gift of coat-armour. This is the original grant, given me

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ſome long time afterwards, but I will tranſlate it from the Latin tongue in which it is writ :—

"SIGISMUND BATHOR, by the Grace of God, Duke of *Tranſylvania*, *Wallachia*, and *Moldavia*, Earl of *Anchard*, *Salford*, and *Growenda*; to all whom this Writing may come or appear.

KNOW that We have given leave and licence to *John Smith*, an Engliſh gentleman, Captain of 250 ſoldiers, under the moſt generous and honourable *Henry Volda*, Earl of *Meldritch*, *Salmaria* and *Peldoia*, Colonel of a thouſand horſe, and fifteen hundred foot, in the Wars of *Hungary*, and in the Provinces aforeſaid under our

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authority; whoſe ſervice doth deſerve all praiſe and perpetual memory towards Us, as a man that did for God and his country overcome his enemies. Wherefore out of Our love and favour, according to the law of Arms, We have ordained and given him in his ſhield of Arms, the figure and deſcription of three Turks' heads, which with his ſword before the town of *Regall*, he did overcome, kill, and cut off, in the Province of *Tranſylvania*. But Fortune, as ſhe is very variable, ſo it chanced and happened to him in the Province of *Wallachia*, in the year of our Lord 1602, the 18th day of November, with many others, as well Noblemen, as alſo divers other ſoldiers, were taken priſoners by the Lord Baſhaw of *Cambia*, a country of *Tartaria*; whoſe cruelty brought him ſuch good fortune, by the help and power of Almighty God, that he delivered himſelf, and returned again to his company and fellow ſoldiers, of whom We do diſcharge him, and this he hath in witneſs thereof, being much more worthy of a better reward; and now intends to return to his own ſweet country. We deſire, therefore, all our loving and kind Kinſmen, Dukes, Princes, Earls, Barons, Governors of Towns, Cities or Ships, in this Kingdom, or any other Provinces he ſhall come in, that you freely let paſs this the aforeſaid Captain, without any hindrance or moleſtation, and this doing with all

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kindneſs, we are always ready to do the like for you.

"Sealed at *Lipſwick* in *Miſenland*, the ninth of December in the year of our Lord 1603.

SIGISMUNDUS BATHOR.

"With the proper privilege of His Majeſty."

And more than twenty years afterwards, I had theſe arms regiſtered in our own College of Heralds, as this writing of *Garter's* ſheweth. This, too, is in Latin, which I tranſlate thus:—

"To all and ſingular, in what place, ſtate, degree, order, or condition whatſoever, to whom this preſent writing ſhall come; I, *William Segar*,

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Knight, otherwiſe Garter, and Principal King of Arms of England, wiſh health. Know that I the aforeſaid Garter, do witneſs and approve, that this aforeſaid Patent, I have ſeen, ſigned and ſealed, under the proper Hand and Seal Manual of the ſaid Duke of *Tranſylvania*, and a true Copy of the ſame, as a thing for perpetual memory, I have ſubſcribed and recorded in the Regiſter and Office of the Heralds of Arms.

" Dated at London the nineteenth day of Auguſt, in the year of our Lord 1625, and in the firſt year of our Soverain Lord *Charles*, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland; Defender of the Faith, &c.

WILLIAM SEGAR."

But, if I was ſomewhat elated with my good fortune, it was deſtined that my pride ſhould have a fall, for the *Crim* Tartars came in ſuch hordes, and did ſo harry us, that we met with much loſs, and our ſtrength was greatly reduced. Warring with ſavages, the war was carried on ſavagely. I mind me ſpecially at *Rebrynk*, where the enemy was entrenched too ſtrongly for us to harm him. Nevertheleſs, whenever we could catch a few of their men, we cut off their heads, and rolled them up and down before their trenches: whilſt they flayed alive ſeven of our porters, and hanged their ſkins upon poles.

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After a time, however, things came to ſuch a paſs that we muſt either fight or be cut in pieces, flying; ſo, of courſe, we offered battle, although the odds of numbers were fearfully againſt us, 11,000 of us againſt 40,000 of the enemy. We did our beſt, but when night came, only ſome 1,300 or 1,400 horſe had managed to ſave themſelves, cutting their way, under Earl *Meldritch*, through the enemy, and ſwam the river; all the reſt were ſlain, or taken priſoners. And on that bloody field that night, lay nearly 30,000 dead bodies, ſome headleſs, ſome armleſs or legleſs, but all cut and mangled, and the *Crim* Tartars admitted that they never paid dearer than they had done that day. Twelve Engliſhmen went that day into the fray, well and hearty, and nine paid with their lives; they did all they could do, and when they could do no more, they left their bodies there in teſtimony of their minds. Two eſcaped, but I was ſadly wounded, and lay among the ſlaughtered dead bodies.

That was a night I ſhall never forget; how I lay there tortured by thirſt, and groaning with the fierce agony of my wounds; ſo that I was even glad to ſee the pillagers coming, thinking they would moſt probably cut my throat, and thus put me out of my miſery. But they, judging from my habit and armour that I ſhould be more valuable to them for

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ranſom alive than dead, took me priſoner, with many others, and uſed me well until my wounds were healed.

When I was fairly ſound again, I was ſent with a batch of Chriſtians to *Axopolis*, where we were ſold for ſlaves in the market place, as if we were beaſts. None but thoſe who have undergone this degradation, can have any conception of the feeling. Stripped naked in order to ſhow the ſoundneſs of our limbs, with muſcles being handled and felt, as a butcher does an ox; a kick, a blow, or a laſh from a whip, and a curſe, were you not quick enough in obeying ſuch orders as "Turn round," "Put out your arm," &c.; whilſt now and then we were ſet a-wreſtling, one with another, in order to ſhow our ſtrength.

I was purchaſed, at laſt, by a Baſhaw named *Bogall*, and inaſmuch as I was of better quality than moſt of my fellow-ſlaves, he thought I ſhould make a nice preſent for his fair miſtreſs at *Conſtantinople*. So we were ſent to *Adrianople*, and from thence, chained together round the neck by twenties, we marched in long files to *Conſtantinople*, where we were delivered to our ſeveral maſters, and I to my future miſtreſs, the young and pretty lady *Charatza Tragabigzanda*.

This noble gentlewoman had great compaſſion on my misfortunes, and my youth, (for I was but

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twenty-four years of age,) and, knowing ſomewhat of the Italian tongue, ſhe would oft converſe with me, as well as ſhe could; and at times, when ſhe ſhould have gone to the bath, or to weep over the tombs, as is their wont, ſhe would feign ſickneſs, and would queſtion me, how it was that *Bogall* had taken me priſoner, and whether I was, as he had written her, a Bohemian Lord, conquered by his hand, as he had conquered many others, whom, ere long he would preſent to her, and whoſe ranſoms ſhould adorn her with the glory of his conqueſts.

To this what could I reply but the truth? I proteſted I was nought of the kind, and that I had never ſet eyes on *Bogall* until that he had bought me at *Axopolis;* that I was an Engliſhman, who by my own adventures had been raiſed to be a captain in thoſe countries. I think ſhe would fain have had me a Bohemian Lord; but as I ſtill ſturdily avowed that I was but a ſimple Engliſhman, ſhe inquired diligently of many French, Dutch, and Italians, who could ſpeak Engliſh, and their report confirmed my ſtory. This, if poſſible, made her more compaſſionate to me than before; ſhe would not keep me herſelf as a ſlave, and, as ſhe much feared that her mother might ſell me, ſhe thought the ſafeſt plan was to ſend me to her brother, *Tymor*, Baſhaw of *Nalbrits*, in the country of *Cambia*, a province of *Tartaria*. She did it for the beſt, but

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my heart ſank within me when I thought of my life about to be paſſed in ſlavery, in thoſe deſerts; and miſerable enough was my captivity there, as you ſhall hear.

It took us many days to journey from *Conſtantinople* to *Nalbrits*, where *Tymor* Baſhaw then lived, in a vaſt ſtone caſtle, with many great courts about it, environed by high ſtone walls.

Up to this time I had been well treated, but now was I to experience a thorough change, and that entirely owing to my ladv's well-meant kindneſs; for in the letter ſhe wrote to her brother, and which was delivered to him the ſame time as I myſelf was, ſhe had ſaid ſo much in my favour, and pleaded ſo for my good uſage, that he more than ſuſpected her liking for me. For ſhe alſo wrote him that I was but to ſojourn there to learn the language, and what it was to be a Turk, till time made her miſtreſs of her own actions. This provoked all the bigotry of the proud and haughty Turk. What! ſhould his ſiſter think kindly of, nay, even ſo love a Chriſtian dog, as to wiſh him to be well treated, and in courſe of time be advanced (he turning renegado) to who could tell what poſition by her favour? Never, with his conſent and aſſiſtance. The dog ſhould be treated according to his deſerts. So, after ſpitting in my face, and reviling me with all the bitter words his tongue

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could command, he called his taſkmaſter, or drub-man, to him, and gave him orders what to do with me.

The man, ſeeing his maſter ſo incenſed againſt me, took a deviliſh delight in putting me to the utmoſt indignities. He ſtripped me naked, and ſhaved my head and beard as bare as my hand; he

rivetted a great ring of iron, which had a handle, bowed like a ſickle, for anyone to catch hold of, around my neck, and clad me in a hair coat trimmed with undreſſed ſkins. There were many more Chriſtian ſlaves, and nearly a hundred criminal

theſe, being the laſt comer, I was the ſlave of ſlaves, kicked, cuffed, and ſpat upon by all. The treatment was ſuch that even a dog could not have lived to endure the very beſt of it, and although we laboured hard for them, having the whip always before our eyes, or on our bodies, they regarded us no more than as beaſts.

I like not to dwell upon that time. I was always thinking over my ſad lot, and the only conſolation I could find, the only ray of light in that deep, diſmal, darkneſs, was the hope that ſooner or later *Tragabigzanda* would inquire after my welfare, and ſhould ſhe even get a glimmer of the truth, ſhe would at once uſe her utmoſt endeavours to releaſe me. I often debated the proſpect of eſcape with ſome Chriſtians who had been ſlaves there for a long time, but they had long ſince given up all hope of ſuch a deed, becauſe they could ſee no way of effecting it with ſafety. But God helpeth his ſervants when they leaſt think of help, and ſo it happened to me.

I was put to threſhing by myſelf, at a barn in a large field more than a league from the Baſhaw's houſe, and *Tymor* often would ride over, as he did to overlook the other portions of his land, and whenever he came, he took occaſion to beat, ſpurn, and revile me. On one occaſion he carried this to ſuch an extent, that I could no longer bear it, but

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forgetting all reaſon, I fell upon the tyrant with my threſhing bat (for they uſe not flails) and beat his

brains out. Seeing that if I ſtopped, I ſhould moſt ſurely be killed, and that if I was caught trying to eſcape, I ſhould but meet the ſame fate, I determined to try and get away.

I ſtripped the Turk of his clothes, and dreſſed myſelf in them, after which, I hid his body under the corn. Then, filling a bag with corn, I mounted his horſe, and fled into the deſert at all hazards. For two or three days I wandered about I knew not whither, and I met no man of whom I could aſk my way. Yet did God in His goodneſs direct

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me to one of their great roads, which croſs theſe large territories. There are poſts with ſigns on them directing the way to the different countries, and I choſe that which had a croſs upon it, to ſhow it led to a Chriſtian country—in fact, to *Muſcovy*.

For ſixteen days I travelled in fear and trembling, fearful of meeting at any moment ſome one who ſhould ſee my collar of ſlavery around my neck, and who, by reading the writing on the ſame, would diſcover whence I came, and deliver me back to certain death, or make me a ſlave once more. I have ſcarce any recollection of how I fared during this long time, how I fed, how I reſted. I know I feared to approach any rock, or even any clump of buſhes, left behind them ſhould be enemies. Judge of my joy then, when, on the ſixteenth day, I came in ſight of *Æcopolis*, a town on the river *Don*, and a garriſon of the Muſcovites. Here I was brought before the Governor, who examined me ſtraitly as to my life and adventures, but at laſt, being convinced that I was a true man and no rogue, he had my iron collar taken off, to my hearty joy and great relief.

Here, too, I found, as I have always done when in misfortune, kindly help from a woman; the good and charitable Lady *Callamata*, whom God preſerve, and whom I ſhall always hold in reverence, largely ſupplied all my wants, ſo that indeed I felt

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as if I were in heaven after my ſufferings in captivity, and the hardſhips and horrors of my eſcape.

With them I ſtayed until a convoy arrived, which was going to *Coragnaw*, where the governor of that place received me with wonderful kindneſs, owing to my letter of recommendation from the governor of *Ægopolis*, and, indeed, all through my journey to *Hermonſtadt*, in *Tranſylvania*, I never met, in all my life, with more reſpect, mirth, content, and entertainment. There was no governor, wherever I came, but what gave me ſomewhat as a preſent, beſides bearing all my charges, ſo that I could ſcarce contain myſelf for joy after my late hardſhips.

Once arrived in *Tranſylvania* I found ſo many good friends, that had I my will, and had I not longed once more to ſee my native country, I ſhould hardly ever have left them, for indeed I was glutted with content, and near drowned with joy. But I minded me that I had to report myſelf to my Prince, inaſmuch as I was ſtill in his ſervice, having been captured whilſt fighting for him. As he was not in *Tranſylvania*, needs muſt that I ſhould go and ſeek him; ſo I travelled to *Prague*, in *Bohemia*, and at length found him, together with my old Colonel and companion in arms, the moſt noble Earl *Meldritch*.

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After hearing my caſe Prince *Sigiſmund* condoled with me mightily, and moreover ordered me to be given fifteen hundred ducats of gold to repair my loſſes, and to ſomewhat recompenſe me for the hardſhips I had undergone. It was then, alſo, that he gave me that writing I have already ſhown you, in which he requeſts all perſons under his juriſdiction to ſhow me help, at the ſame time giving me the boon I aſked of him, my diſcharge from his ſervice.

I was now my own maſter, and at liberty to do as I choſe for myſelf, ſo I travelled throughout *Germany*, *France*, and *Spain*.

CHAPTER IV.

THEN, hearing of the wars in *Barbary*, I went from *Gibraltar* to *Tangiers*, and thence to *Saffee*, where I made the acquaintance of a Captain of a French man-of-war, named *Merham*, and we became very good friends. Although the country was much diſturbed by civil war, I went about and ſaw many curious things, as, being an Engliſhman, I was unharmed; for *Muley Haſſan*, a former

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Emperor, had a great liking for Engliſhmen, and, having no good artificers of his own, he welcomed handicraftſmen from *England*, ſuch as goldſmiths, watchmakers, plumbers, carvers, and poliſhers of ſtone. He allowed all theſe a ſtanding fee of ten ſhillings a day, a ſufficient quantity of linen, woollen, ſilk, or what not, for their apparel, and ſtinted them not in diet, beſides which, they could tranſport, or import, what they would, cuſtoms free. One of them, Mr. *Henry Archer*, afterwards came over to *England*, and ſet up in buſineſs as a watchmaker.

Concerning this *Archer*, there is one thing more worth noting. Not far from *Mount Atlas*, a great lioneſs, in the heat of the day, did uſe to bathe herſelf, and teach her puppies to ſwim, in the river, *Canzeff*. This was a good breadth, yet ſhe would carry them over the river, one after the other; which ſome Moors perceiving, watched their opportunity, and, when the river was between her and them, ſtole four of her whelps; which perceiving, ſhe paſſed the river with all the ſpeed ſhe could, and coming near them, they let fall a whelp (and fled with the reſt), which ſhe took in her mouth and ſwam the river back again.

They gave a male and female to Mr. *Archer*, who kept them in the King's garden, till the male killed the female, when he brought him up like a

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puppy-dog, having it to lie upon his bed, until he grew as great as a maſtiff, and no dog could be more tame and gentle to thoſe he knew, than he was. Being about to return to *England*, Mr. *Archer* gave him to a merchant of *Marſeilles*, who preſented it to the French King, who, in his turn, ſent it to King *James* as a gift.

It had been in the *Tower* ſeven years, when one *John Bull*, who had been ſervant to Mr. *Archer*, went with divers of his friends to ſee the lions, not knowing his old friend was there; yet this rare beaſt ſmelt him before he ſaw him, whining, groaning, and trembling with ſuch an expreſſion of acquaintance, that, being informed by the keepers how he came there, *Bull* ſo prevailed, that the keeper opened the grate, and *Bull* went in. But no dog could fawn more on his maſter than the lion on him, licking his feet, hands, and face, ſkipping and tumbling to and fro, to the wonder of all the beholders. *Bull* was quite ſatisfied with this recognition, and managed to get out of the grate; but when the lion ſaw his friend gone, no beaſt by bellowing, roaring, ſcratching, and howling, could expreſs more rage and ſorrow, nor would he either eat, or drink, for four whole days afterwards.

While I think of it, however, I muſt tell you another lion ſtory. In *Morocco*, the King's lions

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are all together in a court, environed with a great high wall. To thoſe they put a young puppy-dog. The largeſt lion had a ſore upon his neck, which this dog ſo licked that it was healed. From that time the lion took him under his protection, and defended him from the fury of all the reſt, nor durſt they eat till he and the dog had fed. This dog grew great, and lived amongſt the lions many years after.

I ſoon gave up all hope of ſeeing any ſervice in this country, for their ways would not ſuit me, ſo I could not ſtay, but returned with Captain *Merham* and his companions to *Saffee*.

Now, after our arrival, *Merham* invited me and two or three more to go on board his ſhip, and he gave us as good a welcome, and ſpared not anything that he had to expreſs his kindneſs towards us, that the time ran on ſo that it was too late to go on ſhore, and we were of neceſſity conſtrained to ſtay aboard. To this we had no objection, for we were in right good company, and a fairer evening could not be; yet, ere midnight, ſuch a ſtorm did ariſe that we were obliged to ſlip cable and anchor and put out to ſea. The ſtorm was ſo great that we could carry no ſail but juſt one small one, which kept us ſpooning before the wind, till we were driven to the *Canaries*. There the weather got calmer,

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and we put ourſelves to rights ſomewhat, hoping that ſome good might come out of this evil chance; nor was it long before we took a ſmall bark coming from *Teneriffe*, loaded with wine. Three or four more we chaſed, and took two, but found little in them, ſave a few paſſengers, that told us of five Dutch men-of-war, about the *Iſles*, ſo that we ſtood for *Boyadora*, upon the African ſhore, betwixt which, and *Cape Noa*, we deſcried two ſails.

Merham, wiſhing to know who and what they were, hailed them. According to the uſual courteſy at ſea, they very civilly danced their topſails, and desired *Merham* to come on board of them, and take what he would, for that they were but two poor Buccaneers. *Merham*, however, was too ſhrewd an old fox to be ſo caught, and ſeeing himſelf in the lions' paws (for truth to tell, they were two Spaniſh men-of-war, and well appointed), he ſprung his luff. One of the Spaniards tacked after him, and came cloſe to his nether quarter, when he delivered his broadſide and then luffed up to windward. Her conſort, the *Vice-Admiral*, did the like, and in the courſe of an hour they attacked us one on each ſide, and tried to board us; but we beat them off, and they left four or five of their men dead, and ſprawling on our gratings. So they battered us for another hour, and then

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boarded us once more. This time, however, they threw on board of us four kedgers, or grapnels, with iron chains, in order to have torn down our grating, but the *Admiral's* yard was ſo entangled with our ſhrouds that he could not ſheer off, which gave Captain *Merham* time to diſcharge two croſs-bar ſhots, and divers iron bolts made for that purpoſe, full againſt the *Admiral's* bow, in which it cauſed ſuch a breach as made us fear we ſhould both ſink in company. The Spaniards ſoon ſlipped their grapnels, and we were buſy in cutting his tackling, but ſo as to keep his yard in our ſhrouds; and their ſhip at laſt got clear, and ventured not near us again, but fired at a diſtance, while they repaired their leak.

The other ſhip then came up, and the fight continued from noon, till ſix in the evening, when darkneſs came on, and we made for *Marmora*, the Spaniards purſuing us; and ſo ſlowly did we ſail, and ſuch ſmall way did we make, that next morning we were not three leagues from *Cape Noa*. The two Spaniards outſailed us when they could ſee, and in an hour's time came up with us, and commanded us to ſurrender to the King of Spain upon fair quarter.

But *Merham* only ſmiled at them, and, calling for wine, he filled a glaſs, and drank to them, having done which, he diſcharged his quarter pieces.

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This did ſo incenſe the Spaniards that they cloſed with us and boarded us, and many of them ruſhed up the ſhrouds and endeavoured to unſling the mainſail; which the maſter, and ſome others who were in the round-houſe, perceiving, ſhot at them, and cauſed them, to their coſt, to tumble down. And, indeed, about the round-houſe the Spaniards were ſo peſtered, that they were forced to the great cabin, which, owing to the firing, blew up, becauſe of the powder there ſtored. The ſmoke and the fire were ſo great, that both they, and we, thought the ſhip on fire.

In the forecaſtle, too, things were not quite ſo comfortable for the Spaniards as they would have liked, for, many of them being on the grating, we blew them up by means of a bag of gunpowder, ſo that they cleared themſelves away from us with great ſpeed, leaving behind them their dead and wounded and ſome few priſoners. *Merham* at once ſet about quenching the flames, and after a time ſucceeded in ſo doing, with the aid of wet cloths and water; and it was near time that ſuch ſhould be done, for it began to grow apace, too faſt, indeed, for our liking.

The Spaniards ſtill kept firing upon us, but we managed to ſtop the worſt leaks by means of old ſails, which we warped over the ſhot holes, and prepared to fight it out to the laſt man. The

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Spaniards, ſeeing the fire quenched, and that we ſtill were not only able, but very willing to continue the fight, hung out a flag of truce, demanding a parley; but that deſperate and brave man, *Merham*, had but one way with him, and would have none of their parleys, and only gave them for anſwer the report of his ordnance, which he did know well how to uſe for his advantage.

Thus we ſpent the next afternoon, and half that night, when the fire grew ſlacker, until at laſt it ceaſed altogether, and we found that the Spaniards had either loſt us, or left us, with either of which we were well content. Next morning we took account of our loſſes, and found we had 27 men ſlain and 16 wounded; whilſt we could count in the hull of our veſſel the marks of 140 great ſhot. But, if we could truſt the account of one of our Spaniſh priſoners, they had loſt 100 men in the *Admiral*, and they much feared that their veſſel would ſink ere ſhe could reach any port, as, indeed, ſhe might have done, for I never heard aught more of her. We ourſelves being crippled, not only by reaſon of the ſhot, but by the fire on board, thought it moſt prudent to look after our own ſafety, and, accordingly, we ſhaped our courſe for *Santa Cruz*, *Cape Goa*, and *Mogador*, until we came again to *Saffee*, and thence, I took

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ſhip and returned to *England*, for I longed once more to ſee my native country.

It was in the year 1604 that I came home, if not a rich man, yet with good ſtore of coin, and, beſides, I had the ſmall eſtate that had been left me by my father, ſo that I wanted for nothing and had to ſpare. Naturally, for like will cleave to like, I ſought the company of men like myſelf, who had adventured ſomewhat, and had been in diſtant lands. It was thus I fell in with many who had been to the *New World*, and all their talk was of its wonders. And they told me what had happened ſince I had been away. How in the year of grace 1584, Captains *Amidas* and *Barlow*, who had been ſent out on a voyage of diſcovery by that moſt worſhipful nobleman, and worthy knight, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, did coaſt round the *Carolinas*, and entered *Ocracocke* inlet, where they took poſſeſſion of the ſoil on behalf of their Sovereign, and which was afterwards called *Virginia*, in honour of our ever bleſſed Virgin Queen *Elizabeth*, of glorious memory. From them I learned how they tarried not there at that time, but how *Ralph Lane* (afterwards Sir *Ralph*) went out to found a colony, how that languiſhed, and how Sir *Francis Drake* brought them home. More by token that *Lane* brought with him that bleſſed herb tobacco, and was the firſt man that brought it to *England;* and

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yet have I heard men ſay, ſome that it was *Drake*, others that it was *Raleigh*. Nor are they altogether wrong, for if *Raleigh* had not ſent *Lane* out, and *Drake* had not brought *Lane* home, he could not at that time have ſhowed us Engliſhmen the virtues of that precious herb.

Ay, and I learned how the fifty men left there by Sir *Richard Grenville* had not been heard of, although Sir *Walter Raleigh* had ſent five ſeveral times to ſearch after them, at his own charges; the laſt time ſending (in 1602) *Samuel Mace*, of *Weymouth*, a very ſufficient mariner, and an honeſt, ſober man, who had been to Virginia twice before; and afterwards it was learned that the whole of the fifty had been murdered, and that one little innocent babe had been born, and had been baptized by the name of *Virginia*.

Among others whom I met, was Captain *Bartholomew Goſnold*, who had (in the year 1602) ſailed from *Falmouth* in a ſmall bark called *The Concord*, with a crew of thirty-two persons, and had diſcovered the north part of *Virginia*. His was a venturous voyage, for he went to unknown parts with but a ſmall veſſel and crew; but it was ever thus in my time. Sir *Francis Drake's* ſhip, in which he ſo worthily ſailed round the world, was but of ſmall tonnage, and ſo were thoſe that ſailed with *Frobiſher*. What a man had to do he ſet his

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whole mind on, and if the enterprise was within the power of man to accomplish, he did it. The leader chose his men with great care, and took heed to be ever the chief, and leader, amongst them in all things.

I also met with Master *John Bereton*, who writ an account of Captain *Gosnold's* voyage; and from them and others, I heard so much of the marvels of those new lands, that my brains were fairly turned; and there seemed great chance of good fortune, for *Gosnold* told me of how he fared in the way of cargo. How the native Indians would give valuable skins, such as beavers, martens, otters, wild cats, black foxes, deer and seal skins, for next to nought, or for some trifle such as a knife or so; that they had copper which they valued not; and that he brought home a cargo of furs, cedar, and sassafras, the roots of which he sold in England at 3s. a pound, or £336 the ton; so that he made much money by his venture.

They described the land as exceeding fair to view, full of high timbered oaks, their leaves thrice as broad as ours, cedars straight and tall, beech, elms, hollies, walnut trees in abundance—the fruit as big as ours, as appeared by those they found under the trees, which had lien all the year ungathered. Hazel-nut trees, cherry trees, the leaf, bark, and bigness not differing from ours in

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England, but the ſtalk beareth the bloſſoms or fruit at the end thereof, like a cluſter of grapes, forty or fifty in a bunch; ſaſſafras trees in great plenty all the island over, which, as I have told you, is a tree of high price and profit. Alſo divers other fruit trees, ſome of them with ſtrange barks, of an orange colour, in feeling ſoft and ſmooth like velvet.

There were lakes of water in which were abundance of tortoiſes, and divers ſorts of ſhell fiſh, as ſcallops, muſſels, cockles, lobſters, crabs, oyſters and whelks, whilſt of other fiſh there was plenty, from whales downwards. There were ſeals, cod, mackerel, bream, herring, thornback, hake, rock-fiſh, and dog-fiſh, with many others; and a great multitude of wild-fowl of larger growth than ours.

But not to cloy you with particular rehearſal of ſuch things as God and Nature hath beſtowed on theſe places, in compariſon with which the moſt fertile part of all England is but barren, I will only ſay that their relation made me think of nought elſe; ſo that when Captain *Goſnold* propoſed to found a colony and plantation in *Virginia*, I entered into his plan moſt eagerly, with all my heart and ſoul; and being then, in that year of our Lord, 1604, but twenty-five years of age, I bethought me that I might paſs the remainder of my life in greater eaſe, and with far more profit to

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myſelf than by fighting, as I had hitherto done. So I decided to caſt in my lot with Captain *Goſnold*, Maſter *Edward Maria Wingfield*, a merchant of the West of *England*, Master *Robert Hunt*, a clergyman, and divers other gentlemen.

CHAPTER V.

THE whole of the next year was ſpent in fruitleſs efforts to launch our project of a plantation; but we had made up our minds to do it, and at length we ſucceeded. We had to go from one great man to another, to ſolicit their intereſt in obtaining a charter, and to provide us with money; for though we were all willing to venture a ſomewhat, yet did it fall far too ſhort of our requirements: we could find the men as coloniſts, ſome one elſe had to find the money. Some ſaid nay to the matter at once, others would keep us hanging on from day to day, bearing us up with hopes of help; and then would be exceeding ſorry, but juſt at this preſent, money was ſo ſcarce with them, they could not; and ſo on. But, at length, our perſeverance overcame all obſtacles, and on 10th April in the year 1606, his Moſt Gracious Majeſty *James I.* granted a

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Charter* for two Companies to be formed, whereof one was in *London*, and the other in *Plymouth*.

The *London* Company consisted of Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, *Richard Hackluyt*, *Edward Wingfield*, and others, and to them was assigned one portion of the land, and the *Plymouth* Company had another, with land lying between, common to both. There were proper clauses which bound each not to interfere with the other, and the rent we were to pay our Soverain Lord King *James*, was one-fifth of all the gold and silver we might get from the mines, which we, in our ignorance, did fancy existed in great plenty, and one-fifteenth of all the copper. I never heard that his Majesty's treasury did ever benefit from our gold and silver mines, but there hath been no voyage of discovery to *America*, but what these said mines have figured hugely in the brains of those who did propose them; as *Tacitus* in his *Vita Agricolæ* saith, "Omne ignotum pro magnifico est," we all thought wonderful things of what we knew not of, yet were we well aware of the great riches seen by *Pizarro*, *Cortez*, and *Hernandez de Soto*.

We might coin our own money, but the management of the plantations was left in the hands of a Council in *England*, who nominated a Council and

* See Appendix.

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Governor for the Colony. Perhaps it was the beſt way at ſtarting, but it did not work well. In *England*, they knew nought of what was going on, but what was written to them by the reports of the returned ſea-captains; and thoſe diſaffected, who went, or were ſent, back to *England*. They liſtened more to theſe latter, than to the reports of the Governor and Council, and, of neceſſity, things did not proſper as well as they might have done. 'Tis true, the King reſerved unto himſelf the ſupreme control of all, but I never heard that he troubled his head with our affairs: had we found gold and ſilver, things might have been different, but as what we returned did not pay our expenſes, much leſs yield a profit on the adventure, no great heed was taken of us by our royal patron.

The other benefits we, the firſt coloniſts, had reſerved to us, was the right of levying a duty on all veſſels trading in our harbours, and this we were to have as our own for twenty years, after which time it went to the King. We were still to be accounted as Engliſhmen, which might be of uſe when any of our number returned to *England*, but was not a great boon if they stopped where they were.

Think not, that becauſe we had got a Charter, we could therefore ſtart at once on our expedition; by no means; there were many difficulties to be

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overcome, which took up another year. There were ſhips to be got, and victualled, and manned. At length we got together three, one of one hundred tons, one of forty, and a pinnace of twenty tons; ſo that what with the crews, and the adventurers, who numbered 100 men, we were ſomewhat cloſely packed. We were fortunate in procuring a good captain, to whom the tranſportation of the company was committed, one Captain *Chriſtopher Newport*, a mariner well practiſed for the weſtern parts of *America*, as he had voyaged there more than once. For ourſelves, I think our Engliſh Council behaved fooliſhly, not conſidering ſufficiently the nature of our undertaking. We had by far too many gentlemen adventurers amongſt us, and of a neceſſity, ſome of theſe muſt needs be not quite all one could wiſh as reliable comrades. Out of our 100 coloniſts there were fifty-two gentlemen adventurers, beſides Maſter *Robert Hunt*, the preacher, and Maſters *Thomas Wotton* and *William Wilkinſon*, the chirurgeons. We had four carpenters, twelve labourers, a blackſmith, a ſailor, a barber, a bricklayer, a maſon, a tailor, and a drummer. There were alſo four boys, and divers others whoſe condition I do not now mind me of, making up 100 in all.

Another thing, too, which bred much miſchief on the voyage, and afterwards, was that we knew not when we ſtarted, who was to be the Chief of

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this our expedition, ſo that for a long time there was no head, and things went on any how. For the Council, in what they deemed their wiſdom, had given us our orders for government in a box, all ſealed up, with ſtrict orders that it ſhould not be opened, nor the ſeals broken, till that we had landed in *Virginia*, and then only ſhould we know who had been choſen as Governor.

At laſt, as all things muſt have an end, we were got on board, and on the 19th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1606, we ſet ſail from *Blackwall* in our little fleet. Alas! even this was but badly managed, for the delay we had been put to had driven off our ſailing until the worſt and moſt ſtormy part of the year; ſo that, although we did ſail on the date I have juſt ſaid, we were ſo hindered by unproſperous winds, that we were knocking about in ſight of *England* for ſix whole weeks. It was, indeed, but a ſorry Chriſtmas that we ſpent on board. Although, as is the wont of Engliſhmen, whereſoever they may be, we made the beſt cheer we could in honour of the ſeason, yet, by reaſon of the roughneſs of the ſea and contrary winds, many were helpleſs from ſea ſickneſs. Nay, Maſter *Hunt*, our preacher, was ſo weak and ſick that few expected his recovery. But, although he was but twenty miles from his own habitation (for at that time we were in the Downs) yet, notwith-

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ſtanding the ſtormy weather and the ſcandalous imputations (of ſome few, little better than Atheiſts, of the greateſt rank amongſt us) ſuggeſted againſt him, all this could not force from him ſo much as a ſeeming deſire to relinquiſh the adventure; but he preferred the ſervice of God, in ſo good a voyage, before conteſting with his godleſs foes, whoſe diſaſtrous deſigns (could they have prevailed) would even then have overthrown the whole buſineſs of the expedition, ſo many diſcontents did then ariſe.

But Maſter *Hunt*, with the water of patience and his godly exhortations, quenched thoſe flames of envy and diſſenſion.

I know I had but ſcant cauſe to love ſome of them, for when we ſtopped at the *Canaries* for water, ſome of theſe gentry, envying my repute, ſpread about a ſcandalous report that I intended to uſurp the government, murder the Council, and make myſelf King. A fine tale did they make up, how that I had confederates in all the three ſhips, and that if ſome of them were arreſted they would affirm it to be true. There is no need for me to ſay that ſuch notions never for a moment, at any time, entered into my head; but, for ſome reaſon, I was not popular among a portion of the adventurers, perhaps becauſe, in my life time, I had done ſome deeds of daring, whereby my name had be-

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come known and ſomewhat diſtinguiſhed, whilſt they were nobodies, who never had done, and never would do, anything above their fellows. Moreover, I would take no part in their quarrels, but ſtood faſt by the godly Maſter *Hunt*, and between us we chid them, and told them ſome home truths ſo plainly that they liked us not. They could not, and dared not, do anything againſt Maſter *Hunt*, ſeeing that he was a Miniſter of Religion; but on me they could ſpit their venom, and they did ſo. What uſe was it for me to deny their lies? They only ſpake the more. For a time they prevailed, and it was decided for the quietneſs of the ſhip and the benefit of the expedition that I was to be kept a priſoner till the end of the voyage. And ſo I was, moſt unjuſtly, but I will tell the remainder of this ſtory in its proper place.

As I have ſaid, we watered at the *Canaries*, we traded with the ſavages at *Domenica*, and we ſpent three weeks in refreſhing ourſelves amongſt theſe *Weſt India* Iſlands. In *Guadalupe* was a ſpring ſo hot that we boiled pork therein as well as if it had been done over the fire; and in the *Virgin Iſles*, where we ſpent ſome time, we fed on tortoiſes, pelicans, parrots, and curious and rare fiſhes, as alſo on a loathſome beaſt ſomewhat like a crocodile, called an iguana.

After we had ſailed from thence and were pur-

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ſuing our way, murmurs began to be heard, which ſwelled louder and louder, that we were altogether out of our reckoning, and, indeed, this was true, ſeeing that the mariners had three days paſt their reckoning and had found no land. The murmuring increaſed almoſt to open mutiny amongſt ſome of the worſt affected of our adventurers, and one man (I do not think among all our ſeamen you could have found another who could have even thought of doing as he propoſed), the captain of the pinnace, a man named *Ratcliffe*, wanted, forſooth, to bear up his helm, and ſo return to *England*, rather than make further ſearch. This cowardly conduct was deſpiſed by all, but there is no knowing to what extent the murmuring would have grown, had not God, the guider of all good actions, decided the matter for us by cauſing an extreme ſtorm, during which we drove before the wind under bare poles all night, and, contrary to all our expectations, we found ourſelves at our deſired port, for never had any of us ſeen that coaſt before. This bleſſed event took place on April 26, 1607.

Great was our joy, and as it was new land, never having been explored before, we chriſtened the land we firſt ſighted, which is at the entrance of *Cheſapeake Bay*, *Cape Henry*, after the Prince of *Wales;* and afterwards, the oppoſite cape, *Cape Charles*, after his brother.

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With no diſcipline among us, each gentleman adventurer being as good as his neighbour, who can wonder that as ſoon as we anchored ſome would go on ſhore? And ſo they did, ſome thirty of them, to their coſt, as they afterwards found it, for, fooliſhly imagining that the place was uninhabited, they landed unarmed, without taking any precautions againſt ſurpriſe, and went roaming about, chattering noiſily, and making as if they were lords of all. And ſo, truly, they were in the end, but not juſt then; for, mark you, five poor ſavages, whom afterwards we would have laughed at, did make thoſe thirty fine fellows flee, with two of their number ſore hurt. They ſaid they knew not what power was behind thoſe five Indians, and ſo hap it was true, for to alter the words I quoted of *Tacitus* his book—"Omne ignotum pro terribili."

That night we fulfilled our orders and opened that myſtical box, whoſe contents had been a ſore puzzle to us in our voyage, for many of us thought, I am to be Governor; or, if he had not ſuch ambition, then ſaid he, I am to be of the Council. However, on opening the box, every man ſoon knew his fate, for the inſtructions were very brief and to the purpoſe. Our Maſters (for ſo muſt I call them) in *London* had named ſeven of us as Council—namely, Maſter *Bartholomew Goſnold* and myſelf, together with *Wingfield*, Captain *Newport*,

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John Ratcliffe, *John Martin*, and *George Kendall*, and we, amongſt us, were to chooſe a Preſident for a year, and he and the Council ſhould jointly govern the affairs of our little Colony. Matters of moment were to be examined by a jury, but to be determined and ſettled by the major part of the Council, in which the Preſident had two voices. Great was the diſcuſſion thereon, and alſo on another paper of inſtructions, which accompanied theſe orders for our governance. This other paper concerned the choice of a place of ſettlement, and the manner of our there ſeating ourſelves, with the neceſſary orders and methods of diſcovery, and how we were to behave in our intercourſe with the natives.

Beſides, the Council in *England* ever thought of making us the vehicle of gathering money for them, to repay their venture a thouſandfold; ſo we were ſpecially enjoined to be intent on the diſcovery of the *South Sea*, as the certain and infallible way to immenſe riches. Thus, our orders were, that if we happened to diſcover any navigable rivers, and among them any that had two main branches, to make choice of that which tended moſt towards the north-weſt; ſince they judged that the other ſea would be ſooneſt found that way. And we were to diſcover, if we could, whether the river on whoſe bank we ſhould make our ſettlement ſprang out of the mountains, or was fed from lakes, for

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they judged that ſhould it come from a lake, it was poſſible that on the other ſide there might be another river, which by its courſe might render the paſſage to the *Eaſt India* or *South Sea* practical and eaſy.

We now knew what we were expected to do, and our next taſk was to find ſome place of ſettlement; ſo next day we began to build our ſhallop, which had been ſhipped in portions, eaſy to be fitted together, and a party, well armed, marched eight miles inland without ſeeing a ſavage, although we found a fire where they had been roaſting oyſters. They muſt have fled away when they ſaw us coming, for they left behind them many oyſters cooking, which we did eat, and enjoy right heartily. Next day we went up the bay and coaſted along, when we diſcovered a river. The ſhallop was launched and the Captain and some of our gentlemen went ſome diſtance up the river. They alſo found no natives, but a canoe ſome forty feet long made out of the trunk of a tree. They alſo found great ſtore of oyſters, and found pearls in many of them.

It would weary you to tell of what we did each day. Suffice it to ſay that it was ſome time before we finally fixed on a place of ſettlement, and that each day brought its marvels to us, to whom all was new. Our people fell in with many of the

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ſavages, but they were friendly, and we gave them many trifles, with which they were much pleaſed. The land was beautiful, and one of the moſt pleaſant in the whole world for large and uſeful navigable rivers. Heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for man's habitation, were it fully manured and inhabited by induſtrious people; here are mountains, hills, valleys, rivers, and brooks, all running moſt pleaſantly into a fair bay, compaſſed (but for its mouth) with fruitful and delightſome land. There is excellent land full of flowers of divers kinds and colours, and as goodly trees as I have ſeen, as cedar, cypreſs, and ſuch like, as well as beech, oak, walnut, ſaſſafras, and vines in abundance, whoſe grapes hang in cluſters to many trees, and other trees unknown to us. There are alſo many fruits, as ſtrawberries, four times bigger and better than ours in *England*, mulberries, raſpberries, and fruits unknown. In the rivers are great plenty of fiſh of all kinds, and as for ſturgeon, all the world cannot be compared to it. Alſo in this country are many great and fair meadows, low marſhes, having excellent paſture for cattle. There is alſo great ſtore of deer, both red and fallow; whilſt of wild animals, there are bears, foxes, otters, beavers, muſkats, and wild beaſts unknown.

For ſeventeen days we thus explored, until on the

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13th day of May, 1607, we finally moored our ſhips to ſome trees, in ſix fathoms water, and fixed upon that place for our ſettlement, which was a peninſula on the north ſide of the river *Powhatan*, about forty miles from the mouth. Some of us landed, and the firſt act was to ſwear the Council, to which they would not admit me, and *Wingfield* was choſen Preſident. He and others made an oration, and the ſettlement was formally named *James Town*, after the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

CHAPTER VI.

NEXT day all the men were landed, and all were ſet to work hard. The Council contrived the fort, and ſome were ſet to work on that, others kept guard, ſome cut down trees for ſpace on which to pitch their tents, ſome dug gardens or made nets, and others were buſy providing clap-board with which to re-lade the ſhip. Ofttimes the ſavages viſited us, and were very friendly, ſo we received them well; yet I could not but miſtruſt them, for they were very cunning. Still, the Council would take no precautions, the Preſident would allow of no exerciſing at arms, nor would he admit of any other fortifications than the boughs of trees caſt

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together in the form of a half-moon, and for this ſlight protection we were indebted to the extraordinary pains and diligence of Captain *Kendall*. Our firſt Preſident was not only a fool, but a miſchievous fool.

The work allotted to me was to join Captain *Newport* and twenty others, and explore the river to its head. This we did, being very fairly treated by the natives. We paſſed by divers ſmall habitations, and came in ſix days to a town called *Powhatan*, the chief place of thoſe parts. Indeed, the river is called *Powhatan*, and so is the chief named, and the people alſo are called *Powhatans*. This town is pleaſantly and ſtrongly ſituated, and the river is not navigable more than a mile higher up, by reaſon of the rocks and iſles. On the 24th day of May, 1607, we reached the head of the river, and ſet up a croſs there, naming it the *King's River*, and there we proclaimed that *James*, King of *England*, had the moſt right unto it. We then returned to *James Town*.

And now mark the folly and imprudence of our Preſident's behaviour. The ſavages had murmured greatly at our planting in their country, but ſome ſaid, "Why ſhould we be offended with them, ſo long as they hurt us not, nor take anything away by force? They take but a little waſte ground, which doth none of us any good." Yet this was

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but the opinion of a few, the larger number diſliking our preſence, ſo they determined to get rid of us if poſſible. They made an attempt to capture *James Town* whilſt we were away up the river, and, on our return, we found them in a ſorry ſtate and in ſore ſtraits, for had we not arrived then, there had been an end there of the fort, for we found ſeventeen men hurt and a boy ſlain by the ſavages; and had it not chanced that a bar ſhot from one of the ſhips had ſtruck down a bough from a tree amongſt the Indians, that cauſed them to retire, our men had all been ſlain, being at the time all at work, and their arms put away in packing caſes.

Now, truly, the Preſident was contented that the fort ſhould be paliſadoed, the ordnance mounted, and the men armed and exerciſed; and, indeed, it was high time that this ſhould be done, for many were the aſſaults and ambuſcadoes of the ſavages, and our men, by their diſorderly ſtraggling, were often hurt, whilſt the Indians, by the nimbleneſs of their heels, always eſcaped. I leave you to gueſs what toil we had, with but ſo few men to guard our workmen o' days, watch all night, reſiſt our enemies, and effect our buſineſs, to reload the ſhips, cut down trees, and prepare the ground to plant our corn, &c.

Captain *Newport*, though one of the Council,

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had only been hired to tranſport us, and, having got his ſhip laden with whatever we could find him as a cargo, wanted to return. Now, for thirteen weeks I had been a priſoner, and was ſtill under arreſt, although, for the general good, I had been allowed to go with Captain *Newport* up the river; but, when he wanted to ſail for *England*, my enemies, of whom the chiefeſt was *Wingfield*, our Preſident, wanted to ſend me back by him to be judged by the Council in *England*. This was cunningly deviſed, as it was pretended to be for my good, as they ſaid they would rather it were ſo than that they, by particulariſing my pretended deſigns, might make me ſo odious to my fellow-adventurers as to endanger my life, or elſe utterly overthrow my reputation.

But, as I was perfectly innocent of anything with which they could charge me, I ſcorned their pretended charity, and publicly defied the utmoſt of their cruelty. They did not dare, for all their deſpite of me, to refuſe me the trial I aſked, and when it came off, all the company did ſee my innocency, and my adverſaries' malice; yea, even thoſe ſuborned to accuſe me turned round upon their employers, and accuſed them of ſubornation; and although many untruths were alleged againſt me, yet they were ſo thoroughly diſproved, that it begat a general hatred in the hearts of the company

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againſt ſuch unjuſt commanders, inſomuch that the Preſident, *Wingfield*, whoſe hatred of me, and malicious conduct, were made ſo apparent, was adjudged to pay me two hundred pounds as compenſation for my grievances. This ſum of money he had not by him, ſo that all that he had was ſeized upon, in part ſatisfaction, and given to me. But I had done all that I wanted. I had cleared my character from all ſtain, and had fully eſtabliſhed my innocency, and I cared not to keep *Wingfield's* goods as mine own. Yet, as the award was a righteous one, and it had been given me by the whole of the coloniſts, and, indeed, I did deſerve ſome ſolatium for my injuries, I accepted what was awarded, and preſently returned it to ſtore for the general uſe of the Colony.

Now was it time for that godly man, Maſter *Hunt*, to do his part in healing our ſtrifes, and he went from one to the other with ſweet words of good counſel: how that we ſhould love and forgive our enemies; nay, he uſed more worldly arguments, pointing out that the welfare of our little band depended chiefly upon our union, for that we were in an unknown land, expoſed to the attacks of hoſtile natives, and we needed, therefore, all the ties of brotherly love. His arguments prevailed, for we all loved him for his exceeding goodneſs. I was admitted to take my rightful place as one of

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the Council, and the next day we all received the Holy Communion together, as an outward and viſible pledge of reconciliation. And, indeed, it did ſeem as if the bleſſed Spirit of Peace had come down to dwell among us, for the next day came an embaſſage from the ſavages, voluntarily deſiring peace, and to dwell in good accord with us, ſo that when Captain *Newport* left us for *England*, ſailing on the 15th of June, 1607, he could take back a truthful report that he had left our little Colony of 100 ſouls all well.

When Captain *Newport* ſailed, leaving us very bare and ſcanty of victuals, he promiſed to return with ſupplies within twenty weeks, but immediately after his departure we fell into ſore ſtraits for food, ſo that within ten days there were ſcarce ten of us who could walk, or hardly ſtand, by reaſon of the weakneſs and extreme ſickneſs that oppreſſed us. The cauſe was not far to ſeek, for whilſt the ſhips yet ſtayed with us, our allowance had been ſomewhat bettered by a daily proportion of biſcuit, which the ſailors would pilfer either to ſell, give, or exchange with us for money, ſaſſafras, furs, or love; but when they departed, there remained neither tavern, beer-houſe, nor place of relief, but the common kettle, into which was put every man's daily allowance of half a pint of wheat and as much barley, which was boiled with water.

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This would have been but ſcant food, even had it been good, but the corn, having fried for twenty-ſix weeks in the ſhip's hold, had as many weevils as grains, ſo that we might truly call it rather ſo much bran than corn.

Our drink was water, and our lodgings were caſtles in the air, and, had we been as free from all other ſins as we were from gluttony and drunkenneſs, we might have been canoniſed for ſaints, that is, all ſave our precious Preſident, who quietly took and appropriated to his private uſe all the oatmeal, ſack, aqua vitæ, beef, eggs, and what not, and lived in grand ſtyle. He had ſome ſmall conſcience left, however; he meddled not with the common kettle, as indeed no man in his ſenſes would, had he aught elſe to eat.

With this lodging and diet, and our extreme toil in carrying and driving paliſadoes, we were ſore bruiſed and ſtrained, and indeed had we been in England, our continual labour in the heat of the ſun would have weakened us as much. Sad, too, was it for us to bury ſo many of our number, for between May and September fifty were put under the turf. On the 6th day of Auguſt, the firſt man, *John Aſbie*, died of a bloody flux, and then they followed one another very faſt. On the 22nd day of August, there died Captain *Bartholomew Goſnold*, who was the firſt to organiſe our expedition, and

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we buried him honourably, having all the ordnance in the fort fired off, with many volleys of ſmall ſhot.

Methinks it was the water which we had perforce to drink, for we had no well, but drew our ſupply from the river, which at flood tide was very ſalt, and at low tide full of ſlime and filth. Thus we lived for the ſpace of five months in this miſerable diſtreſs, not having five able men to man our bulwarks upon any occaſion. If it had not pleaſed God to have put a terror into the hearts of the ſavages, we ſhould ſurely all have periſhed by thoſe wild and cruel Pagans, being in the weak ſtate we then were, for our men lay night and day groaning in every corner of the fort moſt pitiful to hear. It made one's heart bleed to hear the pitiful murmurings and outcries of our ſick men, without relief night and day for ſix weeks, ſome departing out of this world, often three and four of a night, of ſwellings, fluxes, burning fevers, ſudden deaths, &c.; but for the moſt part they died of ſheer famine. In the morning their bodies were trailed out of their cabins like dogs, and so were they buried.

We had other troubles as well, for after Captain *Goſnold's* death, the Council could hardly agree by reaſon of the diſſenſions wrought by Captain *Kendall*, who afterwards, having committed ſome

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heinous matters which were proved againſt him, was depoſed, and turned out of the Council.

Whilſt we were ſcarce keeping body and ſoul together by means of ſturgeon and ſea-crabs, our cowardly Preſident (who all this time had felt neither want nor ſickneſs) attempted to eſcape in the pinnace, which ſo enraged us, and moved our dying ſpirits, that on the 11th September, 1607, we arraigned him, and depoſed him, not only from the Preſidentſhip, but from the Council, making of him but an ordinary mortal, who had to take his ſhare from the common kettle with the reſt. And we elected *Ratcliffe* in his place.

I was ill, as alſo were *Martin* and *Ratcliffe*, but we ſoon got better, and then the moſt part of the ſoldiers recovered, thanks to the ſkilful diligence of Maſter *Thomas Wotton*, our chirurgeon-general. Yet now was all our proviſion ſpent, even the ſturgeon, and we each hour expected an attack from the ſavages, when God, in that deſperate extremity, ſo changed the hearts of theſe heathen, that they brought, of their own will, ſuch plenty of their fruits and proviſion that no man wanted.

The new Preſident and *Martin*, being but little beloved, were men of weak judgment in danger, and leſs induſtry in peace, and they ſoon found that the beſt way to order matters was to give me the management of all things, and I at once ſet

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our people to work at building. I ſet them an example of hard work, always bearing the greateſt taſk for my own ſhare, and thus, and with good words and fair promiſes, got ſome to mow, others to bind thatch, ſome to build houſes, and others to thatch them, ſo that in a ſhort time they were all provided with lodging, ſaving myſelf.

This done, I ſaw that the ſavages did not bring in the ſame quantity of food as aforetime, ſo with ſome of my workmen I ſhipped myſelf in the ſhallop to ſearch the country for food and trade. There were ſome impediments to this, for we knew not the language, nor how to manage the boat, nor had we enough men, nor were they well enough armed, conſidering the multitude of the ſavages; yet we were not diſcouraged. With only ſix or ſeven companions, I dropped down the river, and making ſigns to ſome Indians for what we wanted, they derided us, as famiſhed men, and offered us a handful of corn, or a piece of bread, in exchange for our ſwords and muſkets. Seeing I could get nothing by trade and courteſy, I determined to act, although contrary to my commiſſion, ſo I let fly our muſkets and ran the boat on ſhore, whereat they fled into the woods.

We landed and marched to their village, when we found great heaps of corn, and I had much ado to reſtrain my hungry men from taking it, as I

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expected every moment that the ſavages would attack us, which they did not long afterwards with a hideous noiſe. A band of ſixty or ſeventy of them, looking like very fiends, painted as they were, ſome of them black, ſome red, ſome white, ſome parti-coloured, came in a ſquare order, ſinging and dancing out of the woods, with their *Okee* (which was an idol made of ſkins, ſtuffed with moſs, all painted and hung with chains and copper) borne before them, and in this manner, being well armed with clubs, ſhields, and bows and arrows, they charged us; but we ſo kindly received them with our muſkets loaded with piſtol-ſhot, that down fell their god, and divers of them lay ſprawling on the ground. The reſt fled to the woods, and ere long ſent one of their number to offer peace and redeem their *Okee*. I told them, as well as I could make myſelf underſtood, that if only ſix of them would come in unarmed, and load my boat, I would not only be their friend, but would reſtore them their *Okee*, and give them beads, copper, and hatchets beſides, which on both ſides was performed to our mutual ſatisfaction. Nay, the ſavages were ſo pleaſed, that they brought us veniſon, turkeys, wild fowl, bread, and whatever other food they had, ſinging and dancing in ſign of friendſhip till we departed.

I could inſtil no habits of thrift into our ſettlers,

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for, notwithſtanding our late miſery, they uſed the ſupplies I obtained with no caution whatever, living ſimply from hand to mouth; ſo I cauſed the pinnace to be got ready, ſo that I might get proviſions for the following year. Meanwhile, I made three or four journeys, and diſcovered the *Chickahominy* river, and brought back ſome ſupplies; yet what I carefully provided, the reſt careleſſly ſpent.

CHAPTER VII.

MOREOVER, at this time, there was trouble in the Colony, for diſcipline was always lax during my abſence, a fact which *Wingfield* and *Kendall*, who were living in diſgrace, took advantage of. They ſaw the Preſident's weakneſs, and *Martin's* perpetual ſickneſs, ſo they made friends with the ſailors and ſome of the others, ſo that they might regain their former credit and authority; or, at all events, when they were aboard the pinnace—which I had prepared, as I have already told you—they were to alter its courſe and ſail for England.

By good luck, I returned unexpectedly, and the plot was diſcovered to me. I immediately rallied

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round me all thoſe that were well affected, and, after appealing in vain to the good ſenſe of the others, we turned the guns of our fort (which were Sakers) upon them, and I ſwore I would either make them ſtay, or ſink them in the river. This had the deſired effect; they knew me full well, and that what I ſaid, that I ſhould do; ſo, after much grumbling, and many angry ſpeeches, they returned to their duty. But ſuch a groſs rebellion could not be paſſed over without ſome puniſhment, ſo the chief rebel, Captain *Kendall*, was arreſted, duly arraigned and tried, and was ſentenced to be ſhot, which ſentence was properly carried into effect. One would have thought this would have cured them of ſuch diſorders; but no, not long afterwards, the Preſident and Captain *Archer* were minded to have abandoned the country, but I curbed their project and ſuppreſſed it.

The chief cauſe for grumbling, however, was ſoon removed, for we found plenty of corn along the banks of the *Chickahominy* river, where hundreds of the ſavages would ſtand in divers places with baſkets full, awaiting the coming of the boat. Beſides which, on the approach of winter, the rivers became ſo covered with ſwans, geeſe, ducks, and cranes, that we daily feaſted with good bread, *Virginia* peas, and pumpkins, with fiſh, fowl, and divers ſorts of wild animals, as fat as we could

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eat them, ſo that none of our Tuftaffaty* humoriſts deſired to leave for *England.*

Our comedies ſeldom laſted long without being followed by a tragedy, and one was making ready for me. Idle exceptions were being muttered againſt me for not going and diſcovering the head of the *Chickahominy* river, which ſome ſuppoſed would lead to the long-deſired *South Sea,* and the Council preſſed it upon me, and taunted me with being too ſlow in ſo worthy an attempt. In vain I urged upon them the neceſſity of providing a ſufficient ſtore of food for the winter. This they heeded not; their bellies were now full, and, as it ever was with them, they took no thought for the morrow. So it was ſettled I ſhould go, and I went.

The voyage was rendered very tedious and painful, by reaſon of the many trees which had fallen acroſs the river, and all of which had to be cut in half before a paſſage could be made for the boat. At length we reached a place where the barge could go no farther, ſo I had it moored in a broad bay out of reach of ſhot, whilſt I went

* An alluſion to the *gentlemen* adventurers. It was not an uncommon word, and it is thus given by Dr. John Donne in his fourth Satire (line 31, &c.):—

"Sleeveleſs his jerkin was, and it had been
Velvet, but 'twas now (ſo much ground was ſeen)
Become Tuftaffaty," &c.

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forward with two Engliſhmen and two ſavages, who were acting as guides, in a canoe, ſtrictly charging thoſe left in the barge on no account to go on ſhore. But I had not been long abſent when, of courſe, they did go aſhore, and whilſt strolling about heedleſſly—for they would not believe there were ſavages about becauſe they could not ſee them—one of them, named *George Caſſen*, was ſeized by the ſavages and killed; but not till after they had got out of him by which way I had gone, and then the King of *Pamaunkee*, with 200 bowmen, started on my track, having firſt found the other two men, *Robinſon* and *Emry*, who were ſitting by their fire, and whom they ſhot full of arrows and ſlew.

I had reached the marſhes at the river head, twenty miles in the deſert, and was employed in fowling, in order to procure victual for my men, when ſuddenly I found myſelf ſurrounded, albeit at ſome diſtance, by ſavages, whoſe dreadful cries and yells were enough to make the ſtouteſt heart to ſink. Although they were ſome 200 againſt myſelf, I thought not of yielding, but determined to ſell my life dearly and to make a brave fight for it. And a happy idea ſtruck me that perhaps my ſavage guide might have had ſomewhat to do with the delivering of me thus into the hands of his countrymen, ſo I took off my garters and bound

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him, all trembling, to my arm, thus uſing him as a buckler. Thus, by keeping a bold front to them, I hoped, as they ſeemed to fear to come very cloſe to me, to reach the ſhore, and halloe for aſſiſtance from the canoe.

At length an arrow ſtruck me in the thigh, although it wounded me not much, as it was ſhot from ſome diſtance; ſtill it ſtung me, and I thought I would repay them to the beſt of my power, ſo taking aim, I fired and killed one of their number. This proceeding ſtayed them for a time, they not being accuſtomed to the uſe of fire-arms, and gave me time to reload. After a while, however, they renewed the onſlaught, and I had many arrows ſtick in my clothes, but not much hurt. Yet, me-

thought, I would give them another leſſon, and I ſhot at and killed two more of their number. This made them keep their diſtance, and, perchance, I

might have been able to have followed out my plan, and to have fought my way ſucceſsfully to the boat, had not an evil chance happened unto me; for keeping my face ever toward my tormentors, without heeding whither my ſteps were going, I ſlipped up to the middle in an oozy, miry, and boggy creek, and my ſavage, who was bound to me, with me.

This was a great misfortune, foraſmuch as, with all my endeavours, I could not get out; and, moreover, the creek was deadly cold, and I was getting benumbed. So there was nothing left but to die miſerably or to ſurrender myſelf; and I choſe the latter, hoping to find means to make them friendly towards me and thus preſerve my life. I called out to them, as beſt I could in their language, and alſo made ſigns unto them that I was willing to give myſelf up to them. But they would not come anigh me ſo long as I was armed, which was no wonder, ſeeing that I had ſlain three of them, and ſore galled divers others, ſo that there was nought left for me to do but to throw away my arms, ſorely againſt my will. Then, according to our compoſition and agreement, they drew us forth out of the moraſs and led me to the fire, where my men had been treacherouſly ſlain, and they diligently chafed my benumbed limbs until I had recovered the full uſe of them.

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When my limbs had regained their accuſtomed warmth and ſuppleneſs I demanded to ſee their captain or leader, and they ſhowed me *Opechankanough*, King of *Pamaunkee*, to whom I at once gave a round ivory double-compaſs dial, in order to make him friendly towards me if poſſible. And it was, indeed, a marvel to ſee theſe poor, ignorant ſavages, gazing with wonder at the playing of the needle, which they could ſee ſo plainly and yet could not touch, by reaſon of the glaſs which covered it. But when, as well as I could, both in their language and by ſigns, I told them of the roundneſs of the earth, and of the ſkies, and of the ſpheres of the ſun, moon, and ſtars, and how the ſun did chaſe the night round about the world continually; the diverſity of nations, variety of complexions, and how we were to them *Antipodes*, and many other such-like matters, they all ſtood as amazed with admiration.

But this laſted not long, for within an hour the recollection of their ſlain brethren overcame their curioſity, and their ſavage natures ſo prevailed, that they tied me to a tree, and as many as could ſtand about me prepared to ſhoot me. Now, indeed, I thought that my laſt hour had come, and ſo it had, were it not that their king, holding up the compaſs in his hand, had ordered them to deſiſt; whereupon they all laid down their bows and

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rrows, and in a triumphant manner carried me
vith them to *Orapaks*, one of their towns, where
fter their manner I was kindly uſed and fed.

They were very proud of having captured me,
nd carried me along with them, rejoicing after

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their manner. They led me along bound by cords to two ſtrong ſavages, whilſt the others danced about me, looking like very devils. Their town, truly, was not much, for it conſiſted only of thirty or forty hunting lodges, built up of mats, which they remove as they pleaſe, as we do tents; and all the women and children came ſtaring to look at the wonderful white man. Then did they exalt themſelves greatly, and, ſetting me bound in their midſt, they caſt themſelves into a ring, dancing in ſuch ſeveral poſtures, and ſinging and yelling out helliſh noiſes and ſcreeches; being ſtrangely painted, with every one his quiver of arrows, and at his back a club. They were clad in fox or otter ſkins, or ſome ſuch matter, their head and ſhoulders painted ſcarlet, which made an exceeding handſome ſhow. Their bows they carried in their hands, and had the ſkin of a bird, with its wings spread out, dried, with a piece of copper, a white ſhell, a long feather, a ſmall rattle from the tail of one of their ſnakes, or ſome ſuch toy in their hair.

After they had danced three dances they left off, and all departed, and I was conducted to a long houſe, where thirty or forty tall fellows guarded me, and I knew not what was next in ſtore for me; but ere long ſome came with proviſion for me, and of that ſuch great ſtore, both of bread and veniſon, as would have ſerved twenty men. But my ſtomach

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at that time was not very good, and I but trifled with it, when, ſeeing that I ate it not all (perchance they thought a white man's appetite was ſomething very great), they put it by in baſkets and hung them over my head. About midnight they ſet the meal again before me, but I feared to touch it, as none of them would eat a morſel with me, till next morning they brought me as much more, and did eat all the old proviſion, and reſerved the new, as they had done before. This plan of cramming me did ſorely grieve me, for I ſurely thought they were about to fat me in order to eat me. Yet even in this ſtrait I found a friend, to my aſtoniſhment, and which was to me a token that a kind action is never loſt, for, ſuffering as I did with the cold, I was moſt heartily glad when one *Maocaſſater* brought me his gown to keep me warm, reminding me at the ſame time how that, when he was at *James Town*, upon our firſt arrival, I had given him ſome beads and toys, and this was his manner of requital.

But this only ſhows one ſide of ſavage nature, for but two days afterwards a man would have ſlain me (but that the guard prevented it) for the death of his ſon, to whom they had taken me juſt when he was breathing his laſt. They had an idea that becauſe I could kill them, by means unknown to them, I could alſo bring them to life as eaſily, and

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ſo this poor ignorant ſavage took me to recover his ſon, and, becauſe I could not do it, forſooth, he was fain to kill me. Still, I managed, by craft, to turn even this evil to good account, for I told them that I had, at *James Town*, a water which would have cured him, would they but let me go and fetch it, but they would not permit that, as they wanted to aſſault the town; yea, they even aſked my advice thereon, and offered me as recompenſe, life, liberty, land, and women. I had a table-book with me, by good luck, and, tearing out a leaf or two, I writ thereon, to them at the Fort, exactly what was intended, pointing out to them that the meſſengers were in very truth but ſpies, and directing them to affright them well; but, at the same time, to ſend by them ſuch things as I wrote for, and of which I ſent an inventory. I filled the minds of the ſavages with ſtories of difficulties and dangers, eſpecially of the mines, the great guns, and other engines, and exceedingly affrighted them; yet, according to my requeſt, they went to *James Town*, in as bitter weather as could be of froſt and ſnow, and within three days returned with an anſwer.

When they came back they told their ſtory, and, indeed, they were full of amazement at the wonders they had ſeen. Our people at *James Town* had ſallied out at their approach, as I

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foretold they would, and the ſavages had at once fled; yet, in the night, they returned to the place where I had told them they would receive an anſwer, and ſuch things as I had promiſed them, and ſo it fell out, and they found them juſt as I had ſaid, which made them return wondering, as it did all to whom they told it; and, indeed, they could by no means divine how that the paper could ſpeak.

CHAPTER VIII.

AFTER this I was led in a kind of triumph through divers of their villages upon the rivers *Rapahanock* and *Patawomek*; in fact, I was made a ſhow of to the whole nation, and then was brought by another way to the King's habitation at *Pamaunkee*, where I was entertained with ſtrange and fearful conjurations—

> "As if neare led to hell,
> Amongſt the devils to dwell."

And it was after this manner. On a morning early, a great fire was made in a long houſe, and a mat ſpread on the one ſide as on the other, and on one mat they made me ſit, and all the guards went out of the houſe, leaving me alone. I had not long been left to myſelf before in came ſkipping

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a great grim fellow, all painted over with coal mingled with oil, and with many ſnake and weaſe ſkins ſtuffed with moſs, having their tails tied al together, ſo as they met like a taſſel on the crown of his head, and round about the taſſel was a coronet of feathers, which covered his face, and the ſkins hung round about his head, back, and ſhoulders; and, to add to all this, he had a helliſh diſcordant voice, and a rattle in his hand.

With moſt ſtrange geſtures and paſſions he began

his invocations, and environed the fire with a circle of meal, which done, three more ſuch devils came ruſhing in with the ſame antic tricks, painted half black and half red, but all about their eyes was painted white, whilſt they had ſome red ſtreaks along their cheeks. Theſe three danced around me for a pretty while, and then came in three more as ugly as the reſt, only theſe had red round their eyes and white ſtreaks on their black faces. At laſt they ſat down right againſt me, three of them on the one hand of the chief prieſt, and three on the other. Then all with their rattles began a ſong, which being ended, the chief prieſt laid down five wheat corns. Then ſtraining his arms and hands with ſuch violence that he ſweat, and his veins ſwelled, he began a ſhort oration, at the concluſion of which they all gave a groan, after which he laid down three more grains of corn.

Soon after, they began their ſong again, and then there was another oration, ever laying down the ſame number of corns, till they had twice encircled the fire; that done, they took a bundle of little ſticks prepared for that purpoſe, continuing ſtill their devotion, and at the end of every ſong and oration they laid down a ſtick betwixt the diviſions of corn. Till night, neither I nor they did either eat or drink, but then we all feaſted merrily, with the beſt proviſions they could get. Three

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days they uſed this ceremony, the meaning whereof they told me was to know whether I meant them well or nó; but at that time, as I well remember, I could only fancy that they were fatting me for ſlaughter, and that theſe ſtrange conjurations were but, as it were, the prologue to the play.

To give you an idea of the ignorance of theſe poor ſavages, I muſt tell you that, ſomehow or other, they had procured a bag of gunpowder, doubtleſs from ſome rogue at *James Town*, which they brought to me, and told me they meant to keep it till next ſpring, to plant as they did their corn. I did not undeceive the poor creatures, and I doubt not but they ſowed it; but it ſhowed me how weak was the government at *James Town*, to permit gunpowder to be trafficked with theſe ſavages. So far, however, they were friendly to me, and the King's brother invited me to his houſe, where he fed me mightily with bread, fowl, and the fleſh of wild beaſts; but none of them would eat with me, and all the meat I left, owing to the great profuſion provided for me, was put away into baſkets, and when I returned to the King, all his women and children made merry, and feaſted thereon.

But there was a mightier king than him of *Pamaunkee*, namely *Powhatan*, their Emperor, of whom I have ſpoken before; and he, being at a

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place called *Meronocomoco*, I was taken thither to be preſented to him. Here, while *Powhatan* and his train were putting themſelves in their greateſt braveries, I had to ſtand the gaze of more than two hundred of his grim courtiers, who ſtood wondering and ſtaring at me, as if I were ſome ſtrange animal, which indeed I was to them.

At laſt I was uſhered into the preſence of *Powhatan*, and found him ſeated before a fire, on a ſeat ſomewhat reſembling a bedſtead, covered with a great robe made of racoon ſkins, with all the tails hanging thereto. On either hand did ſit a young wench of ſixteen or eighteen years, and along each ſide of the houſe were two rows of men, and behind them as many women, all with their heads and ſhoulders painted red; many of their heads were bedecked with the white down of birds, but everyone wore ſomething in their hair, and a great chain of white beads about their necks.

When I made my entrance before the King, all the people gave a great ſhout, and, to do me honour, the Queen of *Appamatuck* was appointed to bring me water, wherewith I might waſh my hands, and another brought me a bunch of feathers wherewith to dry them, inſtead of a towel; and then they feaſted me in the beſt manner they could, which, after all, was but barbarous.

They then held a great conſultation about me,

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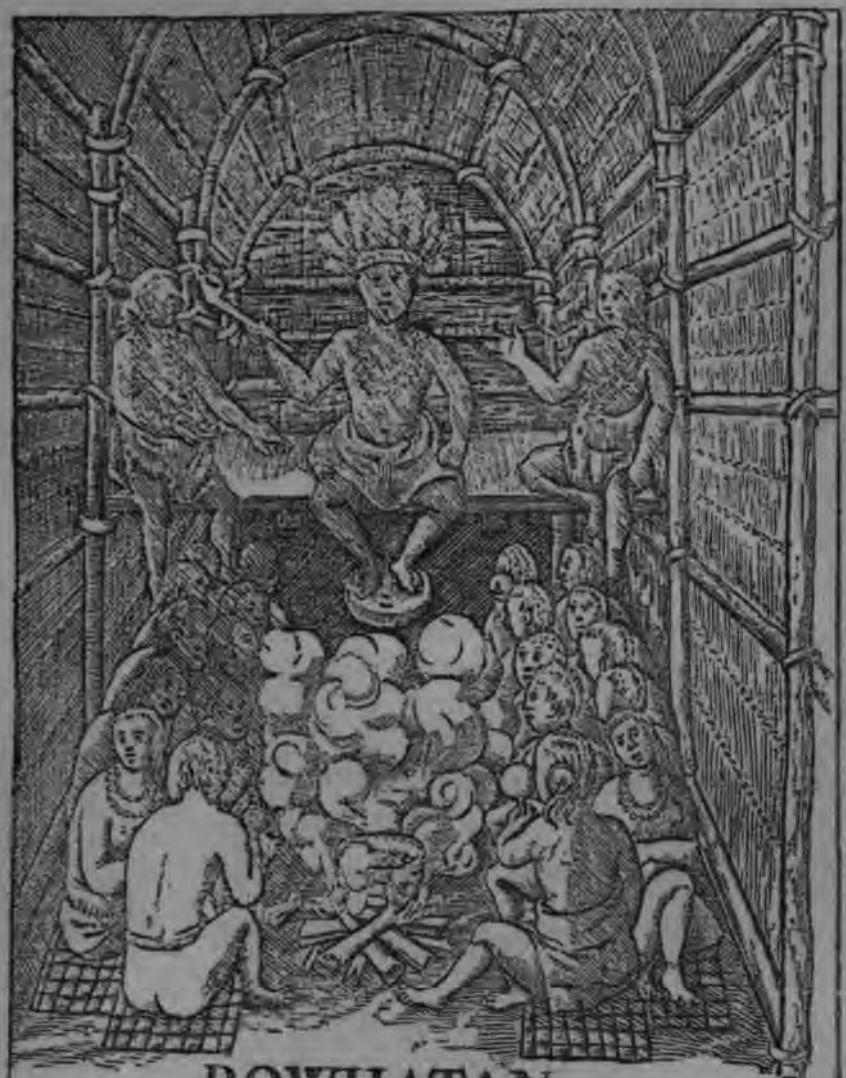

POWHATAN
Held this state & fashion when Capt. Smith
was delivered to him prisoner
1607

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hich I could not altogether underſtand, but the
onclusion was that I was to die; a fate which, in
ruth, was near coming to paſs, but for God's

goodneſs, as you ſhall hear. And, indeed, it did
eem as if my laſt hour was at hand, for as many
of the ſavages as could, lay hold of me, and

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having brought two great ſtones, which they placed before *Powhatan*, they dragged me to them, and laid my head thereon, making ready with their clubs to beat out my brains.

But now, mark the mercy of God towards me when in this evil caſe, for ſurely it was His handiwork. Their clubs were raiſed, and in another moment I ſhould have been dead, when *Pocahontas*, the King's deareſt daughter, a child of ten years old, finding no entreaties could prevail to ſave me, darted forward, and, taking my head in her arms, laid her own upon it, and thus prevented my death. She thus claimed me as her own, and for her ſake *Powhatan* was contented that I ſhould live, and that I ſhould henceforth ſpend my time in making him hatchets, and bells, beads, and copper ornaments for *Pocahontas*. They made no manner of doubt but that I could make all theſe things, for in that country the men are of all handicrafts; nay, even the King himself will make his own robes, ſhoes, bows and arrows, or pots, plant, hunt, and do the ſame as his ſubjects. You will hear more anon of that dear child, the *non-pareil* of *Virginia*, for fortune afterwards threw us much together.

'Tis an old ſaying that "the night is darkeſt juſt before dawn," and, ſurely, ſo it was in my caſe, for, having but narrowly eſcaped from the fearful

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jaws of death, a brighter dawn was in ſtore for me. Two days afterwards, *Powhatan* cauſed me to be taken to a great houſe in the woods, and there, upon a mat by the fire, I was left alone. Not long after, from behind a mat that divided the houſe into two parts, came the moſt doleful noiſe I had ever heard, and then forth came *Powhatan*, moſt fearfully diſguiſed, and looking more like a devil than a man, with ſome two hundred more as horrid-looking as himſelf. The King came unto me and told me that now, as we were friends, I ſhould preſently go to *James Town*, and from thence ſend him two great guns and a grindſtone, for he had heard rumours of the terrible effect of the great guns, and he knew well the value of a grindſtone. He alſo ſaid that if I ſent him theſe he would give me the country of *Capahowoſick*, and for ever eſteem me as his ſon.

And ſo it came to paſs that I was ſent to *James Town* with twelve men as guides, and that night we quartered in the woods. I muſt confeſs I felt not ſafe with them, and miſtruſted them ſorely, ſtill expecting (as I had done all the long time of my impriſonment) every hour, to be put to one death or another, in ſpite of all their feaſting; but Almighty God (by His divine providence) had mollified the hearts of thoſe ſtern barbarians with compaſſion.

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The next morning betimes, we came to the Fort, where I treated the ſavages with as much kindneſs as I could. I ſhowed one of them named *Rawhunt*, who was *Powhatan's* truſty ſervant, two demi-culverins and a mill-ſtone to carry to their maſter, but they found them ſomewhat too heavy for them; yet, in order to ſhow them what terrible engines were theſe ſame big guns, I had them loaded with ſtones, and then did diſcharge them among the boughs of a great tree loaded with icicles, and the ice, and the branches, did come ſo tumbling down, that the poor ſavages ran away half dead with fear. Yet by degrees was their fright allayed, and I gave them ſome toys, and ſent by them to *Powhatan*, his women, and children, ſuch preſents as gave them general content; and mighty glad was I once more to recover my freedom.

It was lucky for our little Colony that I came back when I did, for the diſcontented amongſt them (and there were ſome who could, or would, ſee no good in anything) had broken looſe, and were all in combuſtion; the ſtrongeſt, once more, preparing to run away with the pinnace, and ſo break up our little community. But I took the law into my own hands, and, ſeeing them putting their project into execution, I fired at them (not ſo as to hurt them, but to ſhow that I could do ſo, had I ſuch a

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mind) with ſakers,* falcons,† and muſket-ſhot, ſo that they came to their ſenſes right ſpeedily, and abandoned their reſolve. Still, they tried to be revenged on me, for ſome, no better than they ſhould be, had plotted with the Preſident the next day to have me put to death—and why, think you? They pleaded that by the Levitical law I was guilty of the murders of *Robinſon* and *Emry*, as they ſaid it was by my fault that had led them to their deſtruction; but I quickly took ſuch order with theſe *lawyers*, that I laid them by the heels in durance, until ſuch time as I ſent them priſoners to *England*, and ſo ended this rebellion.

Now, indeed, we were in ſtraits for food, and here again it would ſeem as if even my dolorous captivity had been the means of doing good to the Colony at large; for, moſt aſſuredly, had I not been made a priſoner, and in danger of death, I ſhould not have known my dear little maid *Pocahontas*, and, therefore, not knowing her, ſhe would not have come to viſit us, as ſhe did, every four or five days, with her attendants, bringing with her every time ſo much proviſion as to ſave

* A ſaker weighed between 1,400 and 1,600 lb., had a bore of 3¼ to 4 inches, was charged with 4 to 5½ lb. of powder, and carried a ſhot of from 5 to 5½ lb.

† A falcon weighed 700 lb., had a bore of 2¼ in., was charged with 2 lb. powder, and carried a ſhot of 2½ lb. ("The Gunner," by Robt. Norton, ed. 1628, p. 53.)

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many lives, that but for her would have died of ſtarvation. Moreover, my relation of the ſtate and plenty of *Powhatan* (who till that time was unknown to them) ſo revived their dead ſpirits, that they began to hope once more, and all fear was abandoned. Yet there were ſome, even of the better ſort, who would ſtill plot, and who fain would have me join with them in abandoning the country, in company of ſome ten or twelve of them, leaving behind us to the fury of the ſavages Mr. *Hunt*, our Preacher; Maſter *Anthony Goſnold*, a moſt worthy, honeſt, and induſtrious gentleman; Maſter *Thomas Wotton*, and ſome twenty-ſeven others of our countrymen. But this I would not hear of, preferring at all riſks to ſtop and ſhare our fortunes (whatever they might be) together.

CHAPTER IX.

I HAVE often noted that when things were very bad they ſurely mended, and ſo it was with us, for we had not been forgotten by the Preſident and Council in *England*, who had deſpatched two good ſhips to us, with near a hundred men, well furniſhed with all things that could be imagined neceſſary, both for them and us. One veſſel was commanded by our old friend Captain *Newport*,

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and the other by Captain *Francis Nelſon*, an honeſt man, and an expert mariner. But ſuch was the leewardneſs of his ſhip, that, though he was in ſight of *Cape Henry*, he was forced by ſtormy, contrary winds ſo far to ſea, that the next land he ſaw was the *Weſt Indies*, to which he was glad to get, in order to repair his maſts, and procure water. But *Newport* got in ſafely, and arrived at *James Town* not long after I had recovered my freedom.

My captivity amongſt theſe ſavages had greatly endeared me to them, and, as I have ſaid, every few days they brought me ſufficient proviſions to laſt us from hand to mouth, ſome being preſents from *Powhatan* or *Pocahontas*, and the remainder that which they brought to trade, over which I made myſelf the Market Clerk, and fixed at a price which I conſidered fair to both ſides; and they were delighted at the proſpect of the arrival of Captain *Newport*, whom I called, to them, my father.

The Preſident and Council, being jealous of my influence with the natives, did all in their power to leſſen it, as, for inſtance, by giving four times more for their commodities than the ſum I had appointed, thus intending to ſhow that they had four times my greatneſs and authority; and, indeed, all trading at a fair price was at an end

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after the arrival of the ſhip, for we were ſo over-joyed with the ſupplies they brought us, that we could not deviſe too much to pleaſe the mariners. We gave them liberty to truck or trade at their pleaſure, and they ſo ſpoilt the market, that in a ſhort time it followed, that could not be had for a pound of copper, which before was ſold us for an ounce. This laviſhneſs, and the preſents which were often ſent to *Powhatan*, made him think much of the greatneſs and power of Captain *Newport*, ſo that this great ſavage deſired eſpecially to ſee him.

The pinnace was prepared, and Captain *Newport* embarked, accompanied by myſelf and Mr. *Scrivener*, a very wiſe, underſtanding gentleman, newly arrived, and admitted of the Council, and thirty or forty men. When we arrived at *Meronocomoco*, *Newport*, who remembered how I had been ſerved, was ſomewhat fearſome and ſuſpicious; but I knew the ſavages better than he, and I undertook to encounter the worſt that could happen, with but twenty men, well appointed, and with that number we went aſhore. We had to paſs over many creeks, over which were but ſorry bridges, made only of a few poles tied together with the bark of trees, ſo that I ſuſpected they were but traps, and therefore I cauſed divers ſavages to go over firſt, keeping ſome of the chief as hoſtages,

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until half of our men had paſſed over, ſo that they might form a guard when the reſt of us croſſed. But all things turned out well, and we were kindly conducted to their town by two or three hundred ſavages.

There *Powhatan* received us in great ſtate, and did all that was in his power to entertain us, feaſting us with the moſt plenty of victuals he could provide; and, beſides, there were about four or five hundred people as a guard for us, through whom we walked. Then a proclamation was made that none ſhould preſume to do us wrong, or diſcourteſy, under pain of death.

We had much feaſting, dancing, and ſinging, and we quartered that night with *Powhatan*. The next day Captain *Newport* came aſhore, and received as much content as thoſe people could give him. A boy named *Thomas Salvage* was then given unto *Powhatan*, whom *Newport* called his ſon; and, in exchange, *Powhatan* gave him *Namontack*, his truſty ſervant, and one of a ſhrewd, ſubtle capacity. Three or four more days we ſpent in feaſting, dancing, and trading, wherein *Powhatan* carried himſelf ſo proudly, yet diſcreetly (in his ſavage manner), that we could not but admire his natural gifts, conſidering his education. He ſcorned to trade in the ſame manner as did his subjects, but ſpake to *Newport* in this manner:—"Captain

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Newport, it is not agreeable to my greatneſs, in this peddling manner to trade for trifles, and I eſteem you as a great chief. Therefore, lay me down all your commodities together; what I like I will take, and in recompenſe give you what I think fitting their value."

I told *Newport* that this was only his device to cheat us, but he thought to outbrave this ſavage in oſtentation of greatneſs, and ſo to bewitch him with his bounty, as to have what he liſted. But my idea was the right one, as he found when he let *Powhatan* have his way; for he valued his corn at ſuch a rate, that I think we might have got it cheaper in *Spain*, for we had not four buſhels for what we expected to have twenty hogſheads. This bred ſome unpleaſantneſs between *Newport* and me, for I cared not to ſpoil our trade with the natives for all time to come, which fact, however, *Newport* regarded not, as it would not affect him, and he preferred appearing very liberal, and oſtentatious, in the King's eyes. In this ſtrait I had recourſe to a little harmleſs craft, or ſtrategy, which was this: I glanced in the eyes of *Powhatan* many trifles, and he fixed his humour upon a few blue beads. For a long time, he importunately deſired them, but the more he liked them, the higher I praiſed them, and the leſs inclined I seemed to be to part with them. I praiſed them up as being

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compoſed of a moſt rare ſubſtance, of the colour of the ſkies, and fit only to be worn by the greateſt kings in the world. This ſo inflamed him, that he became half mad with the deſire of poſſeſſing ſuch ſtrange jewels, and it ended that for a pound or two of blue beads I bought of the King two or three hundred buſhels of corn, and yet parted good friends.

I may ſay that I tried the ſame plan with the King of *Pamaunkee*, and did as well with him with my blue beads, which grew by this means of that eſtimation, that none durſt wear any of them but theſe great kings, their wives, and children; and ſo we returned all well to *James Town*, where this new ſupply was lodged with the reſt. Now, whether it was that this grain was not ſufficiently dried or no, I cannot ſay, but a fire broke out in the granary, and ſo ſpread to our quarters, and to the town, which, being but thatched with reeds, was ſoon burnt; yea, ſo fierce was the fire, that even the paliſadoes were burnt, though eight or ten yards diſtant. It deſtroyed our arms, bedding, and apparel, and much private proviſion. Good Maſter *Hunt*, our preacher, loſt all his library, and, indeed, all that he had, ſave only the clothes which he wore upon his back; yet none ever heard him repine at his loſs. This great miſchance happened in the winter of 1607, which was noted for its extreme froſt.

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Now the ſhip loitering, lying idle, was a great ſource of vexation to me; altogether it lay fourteen weeks, when ſhe might have diſcharged her cargo, loaded again, and have ſailed in as many days. And the cauſe of my vexation was this, that our people would part with their corn, or money, ſpare clothes, gold rings, furs, or even give bills of payment, in order to get luxuries and drink from that floating tavern. This delay not only impoveriſhed the coloniſts by draining them of all their reſources, but, as the ſeamen muſt be fed for the whole of that time, they conſumed the food that was intended for the ſupply of us all.

Both myſelf, and *Scrivener*, did our beſt to amend what was amiſs, but the major part went with the Preſident, and we were out-voted. What was wanted at home, it ſeemed, and what Captain *Newport* ſo particularly wiſhed to take home, was gold; but although they waſhed the ſand, yet found they no gold, for the beſt of reaſons, that there was none to find. At laſt the ſhip did ſail, and we, not having any uſe of Parliaments, Plays, Petitions, Admirals, Recorders, Chronologers, Courts of Plea, nor Juſtices of Peace, ſent Maſter *Wingfield*, and Captain *Archer*, home with Captain *Newport*, and thought ourſelves well rid of ſuch evilly diſpoſed companions.

After the ſailing of Captain *Newport* with our

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diſaffected brethren, things ſettled down a little; but, although our Preſident was nominally our ruler, yet he was ſtill ſickly, and was quite content to confine his energies to the ſale of the ſtore commodities, whereby he maintained his eſtate, and got a conſiderable revenue. But as the ſpring was approaching, Mr. *Scrivener* and I thought that it was high time that ſomething ſhould be done towards the rebuilding of the town; and, dividing our labours, we each ſuperintended a portion of that work, together with repairing our paliſadoes, the cutting down of trees, preparing our fields, planting our corn, rebuilding our church, and re-roofing our ſtore-houſe; which taſks kept us all buſy and content.

Whilſt we were thus hard at work, judge of our aſtoniſhment at the arrival of Maſter *Nelſon* in the *Phœnix*, which, truly, we had judged as loſt. He was a man of a different ſtamp from Captain *Newport*, and he behaved towards us right well. He landed all his men ſafely, and he had ſo managed his ſtores (cauſing the *Weſt Indian Iſles* to feed his crew, whilſt he was there) that he brought us a goodly quantity of victual; which, when we had added to it that we had gotten, was near ſufficient to laſt us half a year. He had not anything but he freely imparted it, which honeſt dealing (being a mariner) cauſed us to admire him: in truth, we

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could not have wiſhed more than he did for us. Now, in order ſomewhat to repay him, it was propoſed that I (for the Preſident held that it ſtood not with his dignity to leave the Fort) ſhould ſtart with an expedition to diſcover and ſearch the country of the *Monacans* beyond the *Falls*. Sixty able men were allotted me, whom I trained ſo diligently in their arms, ſkirmiſhing, and ſuch like, that within ſix days we little feared whom we might by hap encounter. I was ſomewhat averſe to this expedition, which was undertaken at the ſuggeſtion of Captain *Martin*, whoſe head was always running on gold. I would fain have fraught the ſhip with cedar, which could be got readily, and was a preſent diſpatch, rather than re-lade her with dirt, or go a ſeeking after *Martin's* fantaſtical gold; and indeed, without our help, things ſo fell out that they happened juſt as I would wiſh, and we ſtarted not on our expedition.

It came to paſs in this wise. When Captain *Newport* departed, *Powhatan*, in order to expreſs his love for him, preſented him with twenty turkeys, on the condition that he ſhould return him twenty ſwords, which *Newport* was weak enough to do. Of courſe it was fooliſh policy thus to arm the ſavages, and to put weapons in their hands, to be uſed againſt ourſelves, but *Newport* thought little about that; he had his turkeys, and that was all he cared

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for. *Powhatan* having once ſucceeded ſo eaſily in obtaining arms, thought to purſue the ſame plan with me, and ſent me alſo twenty turkeys on the ſame terms, but he was diſappointed; for although I was quite willing to pay for them in any lawful manner, yet would I not be ſo fooliſh—or more juſtly speaking, ſo culpable—as to ſupply him with weapons.

This ſomewhat annoyed *Powhatan*, who was not uſed to being thwarted; and, not finding his humour obeyed, he cauſed his people to obtain weapons by any device. They would lie in wait at our very gates, and take them perforce, ſurpriſe us when at work, or by any means whatſoever, which was ſo long permitted, that they became ſo inſolent that there was no holding them. The command from *England*, not to offend the natives, was very ſtrait, and our authorities, who never left their houſes, would rather be anything than peace-breakers. This charitable humour prevailed till it chanced that they meddled with me. I would brook no nonſenſe from them, and without farther deliberation, gave them ſuch an encounter as they had never had before. Some of them I hunted up and down the iſland, ſome I terrified as they had never been in their lives, by whipping, beating, and impriſoning; ſo much ſo, that in revenge they ſurpriſed two of our diſorderly foraging ſoldiers, and having aſſembled their forces, boldly threatened

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at our gates that they would force me to releaſe ſeven ſavages, who for their villanies I had kept priſoners, or they would kill us all.

This might affright the Preſident, but it had no effect on me, ſo that to try what they were made of I ſallied out amongſt them, and in leſs than an hour had ſo mauled, and hampered them, that they brought me our two men, and begged for peace, without ſaying one word about their ſeven brethren who were my priſoners. Theſe men I examined, and got a confeſſion from them by ſtratagem, for I took one of them away and cauſed ſeveral volleys of ſhot to be fired. This, I told them, was their companion being ſhot, becauſe he would not confeſs who were the plotters of theſe villanies. This brought them to their ſenſes, and they all agreed in one point, that they were directed by *Powhatan* to obtain for him our weapons, wherewith he might cut our throats; and they told us of the manner, how, where, and when, which we plainly found moſt true and apparent.

Yet did this old fox ſend us meſſengers, as well as his deareſt daughter *Pocahontas*, with preſents, in order to excuſe him of having any ſhare in the injuries done, which, he ſaid, was the fault of ſome raſh, untoward captains, his ſubjects; deſiring us to ſet them at liberty for this time, with the aſſurance of his love for ever. After this I gave the

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priſoners what correction I thought fit, and then uſed them well for a day or two, after which I delivered them to *Pocahontas*, for whoſe ſake only, I feigned to have ſaved their lives, and gave them their liberty. The patient Council, that nothing would move to war with the ſavages, would gladly have wrangled with me for my cruelty, yet to any man's knowledge was none of them ſlain. It had this good effect upon the ſavages, that it brought them into ſuch fear and obedience that my very name would ſufficiently affright them; whereas before, we ſometimes had peace and war twice in a day, and very ſeldom did a week paſs, but we had ſome treacherous villany or other.

At length the idea of ſearching for gold, wherewith to lade the *Phœnix*, was abandoned, and the far more ſenſible arrangement arrived at, to freight her with cedar, which I ſoon accompliſhed, thanks to the diligence of her maſter, and Maſter *Scrivener*, at the Fort, who did his duty well. The ſhip being ready to ſet ſail, Captain *Martin* (who was always very ſickly and unſerviceable, and who was always hankering after finding that gold, which did not exiſt, thereby creating great diſunion amongſt us) took a fancy that he ſhould like to return to *England*, where he might enjoy the credit of having found his ſuppoſed gold; and leave was readily granted, for we were all right glad to be well quit of him.

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CHAPTER X.

NOW the *Phœnix* brought us out many coloniſts, amongſt whom were thirty-three gentlemen adventurers, twenty-one labourers, ſix tailors, one chirurgeon and two apothecaries, one jeweller, two refiners, two goldſmiths, one gunſmith, one blackſmith, one cooper, one tobacco-pipe maker, and one perfumer! This will ſhow you what the Council at home thought of our colony—ſending us out ſo many gentlemen (as if we had not enough of them already, forſooth) and ſo few labourers. Perhaps *Richard Belfield*, the perfumer (!) was ſent out to compound ſweet ſcents for theſe fine gentlemen; we could find no other reaſon for his coming to us. But had he not turned his hand to other things, he would not have made a living by his trade. And, again, ſee how the luſt of finding gold, was apparent in their ſending out refiners and goldſmiths, who never had occaſion to exerciſe their craft; as alſo the jeweller, for there were no precious ſtones nor jewels, ſave only ſuch few pearls as might be found in the oyſters, of which there were great plenty.

Our weak-minded Preſident kept a ſort of ſtate, out of all proportion to our humble means, ſo that *Scrivener* and I, finding our remonſtrances of no avail, had to treat the matter in a rougher manner,

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and we tied him, and his paraſites, down to certain allowances; ſomewhat according to the rules of proportion. But no ſooner had I got ready to ſtart on my expedition of diſcovery, than the Preſident's authority ſo overſwayed Mr. *Scrivener's* diſcretion, that our ſtore, our time, our ſtrength and labours, were idly conſumed to fulfil his fantaſies.

On June 2, 1608, I left the Fort on my voyage, in order to explore the Bay of *Cheſapeake*. I had been forced to abandon my idea of an inland expedition, for which I had ſpent time and trouble in drilling my men, and now was fain to be content with a far ſmaller following than was at firſt allotted to me, having only with me *Walter Ruſſell*, Doctor of Phyſick, ſix Gentlemen adventurers, and ſeven ſoldiers. With this little band of comrades, I embarked in an open barge of not quite three tons burden, and accompanied the *Phœnix* as far as *Cape Henry*, where, bidding her God ſpeed, we parted company, and croſſed the bay to the eaſtern ſhore, where we fell in with ſome iſles which we chriſtened *Smith's Iſles*, after my name.

The firſt people we ſaw were two grim and ſtout ſavages, with long poles like javelins, headed with bone. They boldly demanded who we were, and what we wanted. I replied in a manner which ſatisfied them, and they then ſeemed very kind,

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directing us to *Accomack*, the habitation of their chief, where we were kindly entreated. This king was the comelieſt, propereſt, and moſt civil ſavage we encountered. His country is a pleaſant, fertile clay ſoil, with ſome ſmall creeks; good harbours for ſmall boats, but not for ſhips. He told us of a ſtrange accident which lately happened unto his people, which, if true, is indeed remarkable. It ſeemed that two children had lately died, and for ſome reaſon or other, whether moved by extreme paſſions or dreaming viſions, fantaſies or affection, an ardent longing ſeized upon the parents to reviſit their dead carcaſes. To their aſtoniſhment they found no ſigns of death upon them (although they were really dead), but their countenances were cheerful and ruddy, as though they had regained their vital ſpirits. Many came to behold this ſtrange appearance, as if it had been a miracle, amounting to the greater part of the people, and (here is the marvel of the ſtory) all that looked upon them died not long after, ſo that few eſcaped.

We could underſtand them very well, for they ſpoke the language of *Powhatan*, and from the deſcription they gave of their country it muſt be very charming. Leaving them, we ſailed along the coaſt, ſearching every inlet and bay, to ſee if any were fit for harbours and habitations. Seeing many iſles in the midſt of the bay, we bore up for

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them, but ere we could reach them we encountered ſuch an extreme guſt of wind, which was accompanied by rain, thunder, and lightning, that we changed our courſe, and with great difficulty eſcaped ſafely from the raging of the elements. The higheſt land on the main, which, indeed, was but low, we called *Keale's Hill*, after *Richard Keale*, one of our ſoldiers; and thoſe iſles which we tried in vain to reach, we called *Ruſſell's Iſles*, after our worthy phyſician. Next day we tried after freſh water, but, finding none, we were forced to follow the next eaſtern channel, which brought us to the river of *Wighcocomoco*.

The people here were, at firſt, inclined to aſſault us, but we reaſſured them, and then they welcomed us with ſongs and dances, and much mirth; and, indeed, they became very tractable, ſo that they allowed us to ſearch their houſes for water; but all we could obtain would fill but three barricoes,* and that ſuch puddle ſtuff, that never till then did we know the value of good water. We digged and ſearched in many places, but without avail, and in good ſooth, before two days had expired we would gladly have given two barricoes of gold, had we them, for one of that puddle water of *Wighcocomoco*. The iſlands round about were numerous,

* Small firkins.

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but good for nought for habitation; but we fell in with a high land upon the main, where was a great pond of freſh water, but ſo exceeding hot, that we ſuppoſed it to be ſome ſort of bath. That place I called *Point Ployer*, in honour of the eſtimable Count of that name, who, as you will remember, relieved me ſo nobly when I was in dire want in *Brittany*. So did this place relieve our neceſſities when we were in ſore ſtraits for water.

The weather grew very ſtormy, with thunder, lightning, and rain, and the waves ſo beat in upon our little boat that we had great difficulty in keeping her afloat, by conſtantly bailing, and for two days we were forced to live on thoſe uninhabited iſles. Whilſt there, we repaired our ſail, which had been ſplit and torn away by the force of the wind, with our ſhirts, for we had no canvas; and when the weather moderated, we again ſet ſail for the main, and fell in with a pretty convenient river on the eaſt coaſt of the bay, called *Cuſkarawaok*, where the people ran, as if amazed, in troops from point to point, and divers of them got into the tops of trees, from whence they employed themſelves in ſhooting at us. They were not ſparing of their arrows, and made the moſt angry geſtures to ſhow what a rage they were in. Long time they ſhot at us, but they did us no harm, ſeeing we were riding at anchor out of bow ſhot; but we, all this time,

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were making to them all the moſt friendly geſtures we could think of.

Finding we were not to be frightened by them, they tried, the next day, what fraud and cunning would do. So they came down to the ſhore, every one unarmed, and each carrying a baſket, dancing in a ring in order to entice us on ſhore; but ſeeing there was nothing in them but villainy, we diſcharged a volley of muſkets, loaded with piſtol-ſhots, whereat they all fell tumbling on the ground, ſome creeping one way, ſome another, into a great cluſter of reeds hard by, where their companions lay in ambuſcade. Towards evening we weighed anchor, and approached the ſhore, diſcharging five or ſix ſhots among the reeds. On landing we found many baſkets and ſome blood, but ſaw not a ſavage.

However, we left them ſome pieces of copper, beads, bells, and looking-glaſſes, which gave them ſuch belief in us, and we became ſuch good friends, that they abſolutely contended one with another, who ſhould fetch us water, ſtay with us for hoſtage, ſhow our men the way to any place, and in every way to give us the beſt content.

We afterwards ſailed along the eaſtern coaſt, but found nothing of much note, all along being well watered, but very mountainous and barren; the valleys very fertile, but extremely thickly ſet with

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underwood, as well as trees, and much frequented with wolves, bears, deer, and other wild beaſts. We paſſed many ſhallow creeks, but the firſt we found navigable for ſhips we called *Bolus*, for the clay there in many places under the cliffs which were made by the high water, did grow up in red and white knots, like gum out of trees, the reſt of the earth all round being hard, ſandy gravel; the red clay was ſo like Bole Armenian, that we therefore chriſtened the creek by the name of *Bolus*.

When firſt we ſet ſail ſome of our gallants doubted not but that I ſhould be in too great a hurry to get home again, but when they had been in the bay ſome twelve or fourteen days, ofttimes tired at the oars, our bread ſo ſpoilt with wet that it was rotten (yet ſo good were their ſtomachs that they could digeſt it), they did, with continual complaints, ſo importune me to return, that I was obliged to beſpeak them in this manner: "Gentlemen, if you will remember the memorable hiſtory of Sir *Ralph Lane*, how his company importuned him to proceed in the diſcovery of *Moratico*, alleging that they had yet a dog, that being boiled with Saxafras leaves, would richly feed them on their return; then what a ſhame would it be for you (that have been ſo ſuſpicious of my tenderneſs) to force me to return, with ſo much proviſion as we have, and ſcarce able to ſay where we have been;

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nor have we yet heard of that we were ſent to ſeek. You cannot ſay but I have ſhared with you in the worſt, which is paſt; and for what is to come, of lodging, diet, or whatſoever, I am contented that you allot the worſt part to myſelf. As for your fears that I will loſe myſelf in theſe unknown large waters, or will be ſwallowed up in ſome ſtormy guſt, abandon theſe childiſh fears, for worſe than is paſt is not likely to happen, and there is as much danger to return as to proceed. Regain, therefore, your old ſpirits, for return I will not (if God pleaſe) till I have ſeen the *Maſſawomeks*, found *Patawomek*, or the end of this water you conceive to be endleſs."

This ſpeech ſomewhat calmed them, but for two or three days after, we experienced bad winds and weather, whoſe adverſe extremities cauſed ſuch diſcouragement that three or four fell ſick, whoſe pitiful complaints cauſed us to return, and leave this bay, which was ſome nine miles broad, with a depth of water of from nine to ten fathoms.

On the 16th June we fell in with the river *Patawomek*, and, as by this time our men had recovered their health, and at the ſame time had loſt ſome of their fear, we were content to take ſome pains to explore that noble river, which was ſeven miles broad. We ſailed up it for thirty miles without ſeeing an inhabitant; when we met with two

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ſavages in a canoe, who conducted us up a little bayed creek towards *Onawmament*, where the woods were filled with ambuſcades of ſavages to the number of three or four thouſand, ſo ſtrangely painted, grimed, and diſguiſed, ſhouting, yelling, and crying, ſo that as many ſpirits from hell could not have looked more terrible.

By their geſtures and bravado they ſeemed to be longing to attack us, ſo I thought it as well to ſhow a like ſeeming willingneſs on our part to encounter them. But, when they ſaw the grazing of our bullets on the water, (many guns being ſhot on purpoſe that they might ſee the effect,) and heard the echo the firing made in the woods, they threw down their bows and arrows, and became friendly. We exchanged hoſtages, and *James Watkins*, one of our ſoldiers, was ſent ſix miles into the woods to their king's habitation. We were then very kindly uſed by theſe ſavages, and they made us underſtand that they were commanded to betray us by the direction of *Powhatan*, and that he had been inſtigated ſo to do by the diſcontented ones at *James Town*, becauſe I did cauſe them to ſtay in the country againſt their wills.

We found the ſame kindneſs at other places we viſited, where the people did their beſt to content us, and we made our way far up the river. At one part we found that the water, which had fallen

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from the high rocks, was highly charged with metal, ſo that the clay ſand, which we dug at their foot, was ſo mingled with yellow ſpangles, that it looked as if it were half made of pin duſt. When we returned, we inquired of *Matchqueono*, the King of *Patawomeke*, about this metal, and he gave us guides who conducted us up a little river called *Quiyough*, up which we rowed as high as we could. Leaving the boat with ſix of our company well armed, I marched ſome ſeven or eight miles before we reached the mine, taking with me my hoſtages, who were coupled together and led by a ſmall chain, of which they were mighty proud, inaſmuch as they were promiſed to have it given to them for their pains, and they thought themſelves richly adorned indeed.

The mine was a great rocky mountain like antimony, in which they had digged a great hole with their ſhells and hatchets. Hard by ran a fair brook of cryſtal-like water, in which they waſhed away the droſs and kept the remainder, which they put in little bags and ſell all over the country, where it is uſed to paint their bodies, faces, or their idols; which makes them look like blackamores duſted over with ſilver. We carried away as much as we could, and returned to our boat, and when we got back we rewarded this kind king and his friendly people with ſome preſents, and took our leaves

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with mutual good will. I was glad to have found this mine, for *Newport*, when he went home after bringing us to *Virginia*, took a few bags of this metal with him, and he did aſſure us that he had had it aſſayed, and that it was half ſilver; but all that we got proved of no value.

In the courſe of our journeyings we alſo met with a few beavers, otters, bears, martens, and minks; and in divers places there was ſuch an abundance of fiſh, lying quite thick, with their heads above water, as our barge drove through them, that for want of a net we attempted to catch them with a frying-pan, but we found it a bad inſtrument to catch fiſh with. Neither better fiſh, nor in more plenty, nor more variety for ſmall fiſh, had any of us ever ſeen in any place, but they are not to be caught with frying-pans. Some ſmall cod alſo did we ſee ſwim cloſe in ſhore by *Smith's Iſles*, and ſome we found dead upon the ſhore.

You muſt not think that all our journeying was quiet and peaceful; far from it. We had many quarrels, encounters with, and treacheries from the ſavages, but we always ſurmounted the difficulties, and ſo encountered them, and curbed their inſolence, that they invariably concluded with preſents to purchaſe peace; yet we had the exceeding good hap not to loſe a man. In my dealings with theſe people, I ever obſerved the precaution, at our firſt

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meeting, to demand their bows and arrows, ſwords, mantles and furs, with a child or two for a hoſtage, whereby we could quickly perceive, by their agreeing to the demand, or the reverſe, whether they intended any villany or no. And now, as our proviſions were getting low, we thought of returning.

I muſt not omit to tell you of an accident which happened to me on our return. At the mouth of the river *Rapahanock* are a many ſhoals, and it chanced, by reaſon of the ebb tide, that our barge grounded on one of them, and there we muſt needs abide until the next tide came to float us. As I was looking in the water, I eſpied many fiſhes lurking in the reeds, and for very ſport and paſtime, to while away an hour, I amuſed myſelf by nailing them to the ground with my ſword. This ſet all my crew following my example, and by this means we caught more fiſh in one hour than we could eat in a day. It came to paſs that I had pierced a very curiouſly-ſhaped fiſh, and knowing nothing about it, was taking it off the point of my ſword as I had done others. It was much of the faſhion of a thornback, with a long tail like a riding-whip, in the midſt whereof is a moſt poiſonous ſting of two or three inches long, bearded like a ſaw on either ſide. This the fiſh ſtuck into my wriſt, to the depth of near an inch and a half; no blood iſſued

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forth, nor could any wound be ſeen, except a little blue ſpot, but the torment was inſtantly extreme, by reaſon of its poiſon, and in four hours' time my hand, arm, and ſhoulder had ſwollen to ſuch a ſize, and my agony was ſo great, that I concluded that my death was indeed nigh, and this, my opinion, was ſhared by the whole company.

Foreſeeing my death, I directed my grave to be dug on a neighbouring iſland, a taſk which was dolefully carried out by my ſorrowful companions, and I alſo ordered my funeral; yet it fell out, as you all know, that I did not die, for it pleaſed God that by virtue of a precious oil, which Doctor *Ruſſell*, our phyſician, applied to the wound, after he had ſounded it with a probe, the tormenting pain was, ere night, ſo well aſſwaged, that I began to be an hungered, and longed for my ſupper, and then did, with a good heart, have mine enemy cooked, and did eat a portion of him, to my great delight, and to the joy and content of the whole company. And the next day, when we left that memorable place, by one conſent we called it *Sting Ray Iſland*, after the name of the fiſh.

I was, however, ſtill unwell, and having neither chirurgeon or any medicaments with us, ſave only the precious bottle of preſervative oil, I gave orders to ſet ſail at once for *James Town*. When we arrived at *Kecoughton*, at the mouth of *Powhatan*

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river, the ſimple ſavages there, ſeeing me ill, and one of our men ſomewhat bloody from a hurt he had received in his leg, and that we had with us quantities of bows, arrows, mantles, and furs, would needs imagine we had been at war, and impatiently importuned us to tell them with whom. Finding they would not believe the truth, to pleaſe them we romanced a bit, and told them, as a great ſecret, that we had got much ſpoil from the *Maſſawomeks*; and this rumour went faſter up the river than did our barge, ſo that we were told of it when, on the 20th July, we reached *Waraſkoyack*, which would be our laſt place of call before reaching *James Town*. We were in moſt excellent ſpirits, ſo much ſo that ſome of our wags begged my permiſſion to play off a merry jeſt on thoſe at *James Town*, and as it was a harmleſs one, I ſaid yes. So we trimmed our barge with painted ſtreamers, and ſuch other devices as we could, and made her look exceeding brave, and our device ſucceeded to our heart's content, for they at *James Town* ſurely thought, as we meant them to do, that we were a boat from ſome Spaniſh frigate, and were, in conſequence, greatly perturbed in their minds reſpecting us. And ſo, God be thanked, we all arrived ſafely on the 21 July, having been abſent ſeven weeks.

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CHAPTER XI.

IT is needleſs to ſay, that, as was my wont, I found the colony in a wretched plight on my return. The whole of the company which had been left by the *Phœnix* was ſick, and of the reſt, ſome were lame, ſome bruiſed, and all unable to do anything but complain of the pride, and unreaſonable, needleſs cruelty of the Preſident, who had riotouſly conſumed our ſtore, and, to crown his follies, had made them build him an unneceſſary building for his pleaſure in the woods. Had we not arrived as we did, ſaid they, they would have been revenged on him, but the good news of our diſcovery, and the hope we had, according to what the ſavages had told us, that our bay ſtretched into the South Sea, or ſomewhere near it, appeaſed their fury ſomewhat. But they would be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than that *Ratliffe* ſhould be depoſed, and that I ſhould take the government upon myſelf, as by rotation it ſhould have come to my turn. It was certain that if *Ratliffe* remained as Preſident, the colony would be in open rebellion, and probably be broken up; and, truly, he had brought his fate upon himſelf by his folly; ſo that for the common weal I agreed, but ſubſtituted as Preſident my dear

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and very good friend Mr. *Scrivener*. I equally diſtributed thoſe private proviſions which *Ratliffe* had taken unto himſelf; I appointed more honeſt officers to aſſiſt Maſter *Scrivener* (who then lay exceeding ſick of a burning fever), and, having regard to the weakneſs of the company, and the heat of that ſeaſon of the year, which rendered them unable to work, I left them to live at eaſe, ſo that they might recover their healths; but I, myſelf, embarked to finiſh my diſcovery.

No one can ſay that I dallied long at *James Town*, for three days after my return—that is, on July 24—I ſet out with twelve companions to finiſh my diſcovery. I had with me Maſter *Anthony Bagnall* as chirurgeon, five other gentlemen, and ſix ſoldiers, and they were nearly all the ſame as accompanied me on my laſt expedition. The wind being contrary, cauſed our ſtay at *Kecoughton*, where the King feaſted us, his people being ſatisfied that we were on our way purpoſely to be revenged on the *Maſſawomeks*. In the evening we fired a few rockets, which, flying in the air, ſo terrified the poor ſavages, that they imagined nothing was impoſſible to us, and they were very eager to aſſiſt us, but I would not accept their help. We reviſited *Sting Ray* Iſland and the river *Bolus*. Soon after that, when croſſing the bay, we encountered ſeven or eight canoes full of *Maſſawomeks*. Seeing

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they were preparing to attack us, we left off rowing, and made way with our ſail to encounter them: not that I particularly wiſhed ſo to do, if I could avoid it, for there were but four of us, beſides myſelf, who could ſtand; for, two days after we left *Kecoughton*, the reſt were ſick almoſt to death, until they got ſeaſoned to the country.

Hiding them under our tarpauling, we put their hats upon ſticks by the barge's ſide, and betwixt two hats, a man with two guns, ſo as to make us ſeem many in number, and I fancy the Indians did take thoſe hats to be men, for they fled with all poſſible ſpeed to the ſhore, and there ſtayed, ſtaring at the ſailing of our barge, till we anchored right againſt them. It was long ere we could draw them to come unto us, but at laſt they ſent two of their number, unarmed, in a canoe, and the reſt followed to help them if they needed it. I gave to each of theſe two a belt, and they were ſo delighted that they ſoon brought their fellows on board, who preſented me with veniſon, bears' fleſh, fiſh, bows, arrows, clubs, targets, and bears' ſkins. We could not underſtand a word they ſpoke, but, by ſigns, they ſignified unto us that they had been at war with the *Tockwoghes*, which they confirmed by ſhowing us their wounds, which were quite recent. They went away at nightfall, leaving us under the impreſſion that they would come again on the

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morrow morning; but after that we never ſaw them.

When we entered the river *Tockwogh*, we found the ſavages in a fleet of boats, all armed after their barbarous manner, and they environed us. I thought, of courſe, that we ſhould have to fight them, but it chanced that there was one of them who could ſpeak the language of *Powhatan*, who perſuaded the reſt to a friendly parley. But when they ſaw we were in poſſeſſion of *Maſſawomek* weapons, they believed, as did thoſe of *Kecoughton*, that we had taken them perforce, ſo that they honoured us highly, and took us to their paliſadoed town, where their men, women, and children met us with dances and ſongs, and with preſents of fruits, furs, and whatever they had, ſpreading mats for us to ſit on, and expreſſing their love for us to the beſt of their ability. We ſaw among theſe people many knives, hatchets, and pieces of braſs, which they said they had from the *Saſqueſahanocks*, a mighty people, and mortal enemies to the *Maſſawomeks*. I aſked them to prevail on ſome of theſe Indians to pay me a viſit, and in about three or four days' time ſixty of theſe giant-like people came, bringing with them preſents of veniſon, tobacco-pipes, three feet in length, baſkets, targets, and bows and arrows.

We had uſe daily to have prayer, with the

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ſinging of a Pſalm, at which ſolemnity the poor ſavages much wondered. One day, after we had finiſhed our devotions, they began in a moſt paſſionate manner to hold up their hands to the ſun, at the ſame time ſinging a moſt fearful ſong, after which they embraced me, and adored me in the ſame manner. I was compelled to rebuke them for this, but they took no heed, and proceeded with their ſong until it was finiſhed; then, with a ſtrange and moſt furious action, and with a voice like that of devils, they began an oration as to their affection for me. When that was done, they covered me with a great painted bear's ſkin, then one hung a great chain of white beads, weighing at leaſt ſix or ſeven pounds, about my neck, and others brought mantles of divers ſorts of ſkins ſown together. These, with many other toys, they laid at my feet, and, ſtroking my neck with their hands, they created me their governor and protector, promiſing their aids, victuals, or whatſoever they had, ſhould be mine, if I would only ſtay with them, to defend and revenge them of the *Maſſawomeks*. But as we could not ſtay, we left them ſorrowing for our departure, and we promiſed the next year again to viſit them.

As we went along, a new world opened up unto us, and I had to be like unto *Adam*, and give names to all the places we ſaw: to wit, the higheſt moun-

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tains we ſaw northward I called *Perigrine Mount*, and a rocky river, *Willoughby River*, both in memory of the village in which I was born, and of my moſt honoured good friend, the Lord *Willoughby*; but the greater part of the names, as was meet, I took from thoſe who accompanied me and ſhared my adventure. And in every place thus named, and at the fartheſt points we reached going up the rivers, we cut in trees as many croſſes as we had a mind to, and, in many places, made holes in trees, wherein we put notes which we wrote, and, in ſome places, croſſes of braſs, to ſignify to thoſe who might come after us that Engliſhmen had been there.

Having explored the end of the bay, we returned to go up the river *Rapahanock*, where the people were very friendly, and we met with an old acquaintance, one *Moſco*, a luſty ſavage of *Wighcomoco*, who had an exceeding love for us. We ſuppoſed him to be ſome Frenchman's ſon, becauſe he had a thick, black, buſhy beard, and the ſavages ſeldom have any at all, and of this beard he was not a little proud. He would do anything for us. Wood and water would he fetch us, guide us anywhither; nay, cauſe divers of his countrymen to help us tow our barge againſt wind and tide from place to place, till we came to *Patawomek*; there he reſted till we returned from the head of the rivers,

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and then he guided us to the mine we had ſuppoſed to be antimony. And he never failed to do us all the good he could, perſuading us, in any caſe, not to go to the *Rapahanocks*, for they would kill us for being friends with another tribe that, but lately, had ſtolen three of the King's women. This, we did think, was but that only his friends might have our trade; and ſo, being mighty wiſe in our own conceit, we croſſed the river to the *Rapahanocks*.

There we ſaw ſome twelve or ſixteen men ſtanding on the ſhore, who directed us to a little creek, where was good landing; but before we would land, according to our cuſtom, we aſked to exchange a man in ſign of love and friendſhip. After they had conſulted together for a little while, four or five of them waded up to their middles in the ſtream to fetch our man, and leave us one of them; and, as if to ſhow we need not fear them, they had with them neither clubs, nor bows and arrows. Notwithſtanding all this fair ſeeming, *Anas Todkill*, one of our ſoldiers, being ſent on ſhore to ſee if he could diſcover any ambuſcadoes, and, generally, to look about him, deſired to go over the plain to fetch ſome wood, but they were unwilling to do ſo, except we would come into the creek, where the boat might come cloſe aſhore.

Todkill, having by degrees got ſome two ſtone's-throws up the plain, perceived, as he thought, ſome

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two or three hundred men behind the trees, and when he attempted to return to the boat to inform us of what he had beheld, the ſavages eſſayed to carry him away by force, ſo he called out to us that we were betrayed; and hardly had he ſpoken, when the Indian hoſtage which we had in the boat leaped overboard, but *Watkins*, his keeper, was too ſharp for him, and ſlew him in the water. It was not a time for heſitation, and we let fly amongſt them, ſo that they fled, and *Todkill* eſcaped; yet they ſhot at him ſo faſt that he fell to the ground ere he could recover the boat.

Here, too, we found the value of *Moſco's* counſel, for he adviſed us to ſet the *Maſſawomek* targets about the fore part of our boat, like a fore-caſtle, and they ſtood us in good ſtead, for, from behind them, we could fire at the ſavages and beat them off the plain, without any hurt to ourſelves; yet they ſhot more than a thouſand arrows, and then fled into the woods. Arming ourſelves with theſe light targets (which are made of ſmall ſticks, interwoven with ſtrings of their hemp and ſilk graſs), we reſcued *Todkill*, who was beſmeared with the blood of thoſe who held him, who had been ſhot by us, but, as God pleaſed, he had no hurt; and, following them up into the woods, we found ſome ſlain, and in divers parts much blood. It would ſeem that all their arrows were

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ſpent, for we heard no more of them. Their canoes we took, and the arrows we found we broke, ſave thoſe we kept for *Moſco*, to whom we gave the canoes as ſome reward for his kindneſs.

CHAPTER XII.

HAVING had this warning, and not knowing when we might expect another viſit from the ſavages, we ſpent the reſt of the day in fortifying our boat with our *Maſſawomek* ſhields, and our friend *Moſco* followed us along the ſhore; but after a while he came into the boat. After we had paſſed three or four towns, we came to a place where, ſeemingly, on the ſhore were thirty or forty buſhes growing among the ſedge. We thought nothing of them until arrows came from that direction, ſhot by unſeen foes. They did us no harm, as they only ſtruck the ſhields and dropped into the river, but *Moſco* fell flat on his face in the boat, and ſhouted out that the *Rapahanock* were there, ſo we fired a volley, and lo! all the little buſhes fell down, and when we had got about half a mile away, up jumped a lot of Indians, who ſhowed themſelves, dancing and ſinging very merrily.

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As we went higher up the river, ſome of the kings uſed us very kindly, and their people brought us whatſoever *Moſco* told them to do. And here we had a great loſs to our little expedition, for it pleaſed God to take one of our company, Mr. *Fetherſtone*, who, all the time he had been in this country, had behaved himſelf honeſtly, valiantly, and induſtriouſly. We buried him in a little bay, which we called *Fetherſtone's Bay*, and over him we fired a volley of ſhot. He had never got over the ſickneſs that had afflicted the greater number of our company; but the reſt, notwithſtanding their ill diet and bad lodging, crowded in ſo ſmall a barge, and by reaſon of ever-preſent danger, never reſting, but always vigilant, had all well recovered their healths. The day after we got as high up the river as our boat would float, and there we followed our uſual practice of ſetting up croſſes, and graving our names in the trees.

Whilſt thus engaged, our ſentinel ſaw an arrow drop by him, but we could not find who ſhot it; although we ſpent an hour in ranging up and down, digging in the earth, and examining all large ſtones, buſhes, or ſprings, yet could we ſee no place where a ſavage could hide. However, we thought it wiſe to profit by the warning, and we recovered our arms, which we had laid down;

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and luckily we did ſo, for ſcarcely were we once more armed, when we perceived about a hundred nimble Indians ſkipping from tree to tree, letting fly their arrows as faſt as they could, but they hurt us not, as the trees ſerved us as barricadoes. But *Moſco* did us good ſervice, for he jumped from tree to tree, ſhooting at them, and when his arrows were ſpent, he ran to the boat for more, ſo that they thought we had many ſavages with us. And in about half an hour they vaniſhed as ſuddenly as they appeared.

As we returned, we found a ſavage who was wounded in the knee, and lay as if dead; but we found on examining him that he was alive, which *Moſco* ſeeing, was as furious as a dog is at a bear, and wanted to beat out his brains. But this we would not ſuffer, and we carried the Indian to our boat, where our chirurgeon dreſſed the wound, and ſo aſſuaged the pain, that in an hour's time the ſavage looked ſomewhat cheerful, and did eat and speak, and through *Moſco* we questioned him, and found out what nation he was of. We demanded of him why they came in that hoſtile manner to us, who came to them in peace and friendſhip, and he anſwered that they had heard we were a people come from under the world, to take their world from them. And many things he told us of their country, and its

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inhabitants, for which information I gave him many toys, and tried to perſuade him to go with us, and he as earneſtly begged us to ſtop where we were, and he would ſee that we were friends with his people.

But *Moſco*, in whom I had great confidence, adviſed us to be gone preſently, for that theſe Indians were very naughty. As we went along, we were continually being ſhot at, but no hurt was done, becauſe of our ſhields, and the ſavages followed us all through the night, about the diſtance of twelve miles, and when day broke, we found ourſelves in a broad bay, out of danger of their ſhot; ſo we anchored, and had our breakfaſt, after which our priſoner held a long diſcourſe with his countrymen, and told them how good we were, and how well we had uſed him; that we had another Indian with us, who loved us as his life, who would have taken his life had we not have prevented him. This talk, and more like it, did ſo prevail with his countrymen, that they all hung their bows and quivers on the trees, and one came ſwimming to our boat with a bow tied on his head, and another with a quiver of arrows, which were ſent me as a preſent. We afterwards landed, and gave up our priſoner to the four kings of that place. They were loſt in admiration of us, and refuſed us nothing that we deſired; they

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took our piſtols for pipes, and much deſired to poſſeſs them, but that we could not accede to, but I contented them with other commodities, and we parted excellent friends, for I left some five hundred of them laughing, dancing, ſinging, and making very merry.

On our return, we viſited all our friends, who rejoiced with us exceedingly, and would fain have us friends alſo with the *Rapahanocks*; but I told them they had twice aſſaulted me, that had come but in love to do them good, and therefore I would now burn all their houſes, deſtroy their corn, and ever hold them for mine enemies, unleſs they made me ſatisfaction. They deſired to know what they ſhould do, ſo I told them they muſt bring me their king's bow and arrows, and muſt never preſume to come armed wherever I was; that they muſt be friends with my friends, and give me their king's ſon in pledge to perform what I required of them. Upon this they preſently ſent to the *Rapahanocks* to meet me at the place where we firſt fought, and there, in preſence of two other kings, their chief did give me his bow and arrows, and confirmed all I deſired, except his ſon, for having no more but him, he could not live without him; but inſtead of his ſon, he would give me three women. This I accepted, and ſo in three or four canoes we went

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to *Moraughtacund*, where *Moſco* told ſuch wonderful tales of us, and gave ſo many bows and arrows to his friends, that they no leſs loved him than they admired us. The three women were brought to me, and to each I gave a chain of beads; and then, calling the three chiefs before him, I bade *Rapahanock* take her he loved beſt, and *Moraughtacund* chooſe next, and to *Moſco* I gave the third.

The next day were ſix or ſeven hundred of them, all dancing and ſinging, and not a bow to be ſeen amongſt them, all promiſing ever to be our friends, and to plant corn purpoſely for us; and on our part I promiſed, if they did ſo, to provide them with hatchets, copper, and beads. And ſo we parted, we giving them a volley of ſhot as a ſalute, and they ſhouting loudly, and crying with all their ſtrength.

Methought, now that I knew ſo many nations who lived at a diſtance from us at *James Town*, it would be as well if I knew ſomewhat of thoſe who were our neighbours near home; ſo, ſetting ſail for the ſouthern ſhore, we ſailed up a narrow river into the country of the *Cheſapeakes*. This we aſcended for ſome ſix or ſeven miles, but, although we ſaw many of their houſes and garden plots, we neither ſaw nor heard any people, ſo that we returned to the great river *Powhatan*,

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making our way to *James Town*. Coaſting the ſhore towards *Nandaſumund*, which is moſtly compoſed of oyſter banks, we eſpied, at the mouth of that river, ſix or ſeven ſavages making their weirs, who preſently fled; aſhore we went, and where they had been working we threw divers toys, and ſo departed.

Far we had not gone ere they came again, and began to ſing and dance, and to recall us, and thus we began our firſt acquaintance. At laſt, one of them deſired us to go to his houſe up the river, and he came voluntarily into our boat, and the reſt ran after us by the ſhore with all the ſhow of love that could be. Seven or eight miles we ſailed up this narrow river; at laſt, on the Weſtern ſhore, we ſaw large cornfields, and in the midſt of the river was a little iſle, whereon was abundance of corn. Our ſavage told us the people were all a hunting, but in the iſle was his houſe, to which he invited us with much kindneſs. We entered, and there found his wife and children, and we left them all much contented with the preſents we gave them.

The others being now come up, deſired us alſo to go up the river yet a little higher, to ſee their houſes; here our hoſt left us, the reſt rowed by us in a canoe till we were far paſt the iſle, and the river had become very narrow. Here we deſired

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ſome of them to come aboard us, whereat, pauſing a little, they told us they would but fetch their bows and arrows, and all go with us; but once aſhore, and armed, they perſuaded us to go forward, but we could not by any means get them to go either into their own canoe, or our boat. This I liked not, and ſo, miſtruſting them, I gave orders to put up the ſhields, and prepare for the worſt.

It was lucky I did ſo, for theſe ſavages meditated a notable treachery. There were now woods on either ſide of us, and I noticed we were followed by ſeven or eight canoes. Preſently from each ſide of the river came arrows as faſt as two or three hundred men could ſhoot them, whereupon we turned round ſo as to get once more into the open. Thoſe that were in the canoes let fly alſo as faſt, but we could ſoon account for them, for amongſt them we beſtowed ſo many ſhot that the moſt of them leaped overboard and ſwam aſhore, but two or three eſcaped by rowing. They ſoon found our muſkets carried farther than their bows, and, in truth, we had not fired twenty ſhots before they had all retired behind the trees. Having thus got out of their trap, we ſeized on all their canoes and moored them in the midſt of the open water. More than a hundred arrows ſtuck in our targets, and about the boat, yet none hurt, only our chirurgeon, Maſter *Anthony Bagnall*, was ſhot in his hat,

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and had another arrow in his ſleeve. But ſeeing their multitudes, and ſuſpecting, as it turned out to be, that both the *Nandſamunds* and the *Cheſapeakes* were together, I thought it better to ride by their canoes awhile, to bethink whether it were better to burn all in the iſle, or draw them to a compoſition till we were in a poſition to take all they had, which was ſufficient to feed all our colony; but, after taking counſel together, it was decided to burn the iſland at night.

In the interim we began to cut their canoes in pieces, which was a ſight that ſo grieved them that it brought them to their ſenſes, and they preſently laid down their bows, making ſigns of peace. Peace, I told them, I would accept, provided they did bring me their king's bows and arrows, and a chain of pearls; and that when we came again they muſt give us four hundred baſkets full of corn, otherwiſe we would break all their boats, burn their houſes and corn, and all that they had. To perform all this they ſaid they only wanted a canoe, so I ordered one to be ſet adrift, and bad them ſwim to fetch her, and told them that they had better haſten, for that until their promiſe was performed I ſhould but continue to break their canoes. They cried out piteouſly for us not to do ſo, for all ſhould be as we wiſhed, which preſently they performed. Away they threw their bows and arrows, and all of

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them came as fast as they could with their baskets of corn. We took as many as we could carry, and so, departing good friends, we returned to *James Town*, where we safely arrived on September 7, 1608, having been absent between six and seven weeks.

CHAPTER XIII.

THERE we found Master *Scrivener*, and divers others whom we left sick, well recovered; many dead, some still sick—the late President was a prisoner for mutiny—and, thanks to the honest diligence of Master *Scrivener*, the harvest had been gathered, but the provision in store had been much spoiled by the rain. So that all our colony had done was to have wasted that summer altogether (owing to the government, or rather, misgovernment, of Captain *Ratliffe*); a fact only partially redeemed by the discoveries I had made.

And now an event happened unto me which made me feel very proud and joyful, and thankful unto God, for that He had raised me, once a poor friendless boy, to such an high estate. For Captain *Newport*, who had just returned from *England*, brought out with him Letters Patent appointing me President of *Virginia*, and on

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September 10, 1608, by the election of the Council, and at the requeſt of the Company, I accepted the honourable poſition, which I would in no wiſe have done before—though I had often been importuned thereunto. The firſt thing I did was to put a ſtop to the building of *Ratliffe's* palace, as being a needleſs labour; but I had the church thoroughly repaired, the ſtore-house provided with a new roof, and buildings prepared for the ſupplies we expected. The fort was made of a five ſquare form, the order of the watch renewed, the ſquadrons (each ſetting of the watch) trained, the whole company every Saturday exerciſed on the plain by the weſt bulwark, which I had made ſmooth and level for the purpoſe. This martial parade-ground we called *Smithfield*, and there ſometimes more than a hundred ſavages would ſtand in amazement, to behold how a file of muſketeers would batter a tree againſt which was ſet a mark for them to fire at, and this inſpired thoſe ſavages with a wholeſome dread of our power.

Now, Captain *Newport* had brought out with him ſome private inſtructions from the Council, which were very fooliſh, and ſhowed how little they knew of the country they had to govern and colonize. He was not to return without a lump of gold, when there was none in exiſtence; he was to make certain of the exiſtence of a way to the *South*

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Sea, and for that purpoſe he had brought with him a barge built in five pieces, which was propoſed to be carried on men's ſhoulders over the mountains about which I wrote to the Treaſurer and Council of *Virginia*.* "And for the quartered boat to be borne by the ſoldiers over the Falles, *Newport* had 120 of the beſt men he could chuſe. If he had burnt her to aſhes, one might have carried her in a bag, but as ſhe is, five hundred cannot, to a navigable place above the Falles." He alſo was inſtructed to bring back with him one of the loſt company ſent out by Sir *Walter Raleigh*,† which was about as likely a taſk as either of the others. He alſo brought out with him a crown and ſcarlet robe, wherewith to crown *Powhatan*, together with an ewer and baſin, a bedſtead and clothes. Theſe preſents were moſt ill-judged, for we had his favour much better when we only uſed to give him a plain piece of copper, than after he had received theſe ſtately gifts, which made him ſo overvalue himſelf that he reſpected us as much as nothing at all.

He alſo brought out with him eight Poles and

* See Appendix.

† That taken out by Captain John White, in 1587. When he reviſited it 1589, the colony was deſtroyed and overgrown with weeds, and he winds up his deſcription thus: "And thus we left, ſeeking our colony that was never any of them found, nor ſeen, to this day, 1622."

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Dutchmen, to make pitch, tar, glaſs, mills and ſoap aſhes; which might have been all very well when the country was more repleniſhed with people and neceſſaries, but to ſend them, and ſeventy more, without victuals, to work, was not ſo well adviſed and conſidered of, as it ſhould have been. Not that this would hurt us had they been 200, though we were then 130 of ourſelves, for we had the ſavages in that *decorum*, (their harveſt being nearly gathered,) that we feared not to get victuals for 500; but this, as in all elſe, the Council at home evidently relied more on what *Newport* told them, than on our reports ſent home.

Among thoſe whom he brought out, were two who were to be added to our Council, one Captain *Richard Waldo*, the other Captain *Winne*, two ancient ſoldiers, and valiant gentlemen, but as yet, being ſo newly arrived, quite ignorant of the buſineſs. With theſe on the Council, and *Ratliffe* being alſo permitted to have his voice, and Maſter *Scrivener* being very deſirous to ſee ſtrange countries, it did ſo fall out that, although I was Preſident, yet the major part of the Council had the authority, and ruled it as they liſted. Captain *Newport* was anxious to take the pinnace of twenty tons, and go and deliver his preſents, and crown *Powhatan*, and he would fain have 120 choſen men for a guard. He furthermore argued that the pin-

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nace could be made uſeful on the return voyage by being freighted with corn. I laughed at his fears of the deſperate ſavages, and undertook to go myſelf to *Powhatan*, and aſk him to come to *James Town* and fetch his preſents. And ſo was it ſettled, and where *Newport* durſt not go with leſs than 120 men, I only took with me four, and with them went over land to *Weromocomoco*, ſome twelve miles, and there croſſed the river *Pamaunkee* in a canoe. There I abode, and sent for *Powhatan*, who was thirty miles off, and in the mean time *Pocahontas* and her women entertained me after this manner.

In a fair plain, we had made a fire, which I, on a mat, was ſitting before, when, ſuddenly, among the woods, was heard ſuch a hideous noiſe and shrieking, that we betook ourſelves at once to our arms, and ſeized on two or three old men who were near us, ſuppoſing that *Powhatan*, with all his power, was coming to ſurpriſe us. But preſently *Pocahontas* came, making me underſtand that I might kill her if any hurt were intended, but I was ſoon ſatisfied that there was none, for there was now a crowd of ſpectators, of men, women and children. And in truth it turned out to be a Maſque, after the Virginian manner, with which my dear friend, *Pocahontas*, would fain amuſe us; and as you may never have heard of one, I will tell you the manner of it, and how it was performed. Thirty

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young women came naked out of a wood, only covered before and behind with a few green leaves, but their bodies were all painted, ſome of one colour, ſome of another, but all differing; their leader had a fair pair of buck's horns on her head, and an otter's ſkin at her girdle, and another on her arm; at her back ſhe had a quiver of arrows, and in her hand ſhe carried a bow and arrows. The next had in her hand a ſword, another a club, another a pot ſtick: they were all horned alike, and all the others carried ſomething or other. They looked like fiends, as with loud ſhouts and cries, they ruſhed from among the trees, and, caſting themſelves in a ring round about the fire, they ſang and danced after their faſhion, oft breaking out into loud yells, and then again ſolemnly ſinging and dancing. Having spent near an hour in this Maſcarado, they departed in like manner as they entered.

After they had removed from their perſons all traces of their maſking, they reappeared, and ſolemnly invited us to their lodging, where I was no ſooner within the houſe, but all theſe nymphs began moſt prettily to teaſe me, crowding round, preſſing on, and hanging about me, continually crying "Love you not me? Love you not me?" When this ſalutation was ended, the feaſt was ſet forth, conſiſting of all the ſavage dainties they

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could deviſe; ſome of them waiting upon us, ſome ſinging, and others dancing before us, which mirth being ended, with firebrands, inſtead of torches, they conducted us to our lodgings.

Powhatan came the next day, and to him I delivered my meſſage, how that ſome preſents had been ſent him, and deſired him to come to *James Town* and receive them, as well as to ſee Father *Newport*, and, at the ſame time, we would help him to conclude his revenge upon the *Monacans*. But the ſubtle ſavage was puffed up with pride at the idea of having preſents ſent him from our King, and fancied himſelf of great importance: ſo he replied, "If your King has ſent me preſents, I alſo am a king, and this is my land; eight days I will ſtay to receive them. Your Father is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your Fort, neither will I bite at ſuch a bait. As for the *Monacans*, I can revenge mine own injuries; and with regard to any ſalt water beyond the mountains, the relations you have had from my people are falſe." Whereupon he began to draw plans upon the ground of all thoſe regions. I had many other diſcourſes with him, in which each rendered to the other many complimental courteſies, but I could get no other anſwer from him, ſo was fain to be content with it, and return.

So the preſents were ſent by water, which was

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near an hundred miles, and *Newport* and I went by land with fifty good ſhots, as a guard of honour. When the boat arrived, we ſettled the next day for the Coronation, and then, with as much ſtate as we could, the preſents were brought to the King; and we delivered to him his baſin and ewer, and ſet up his bedſtead with its furniture. We explained to him their different uſes, and them he could comprehend; but he could not underſtand the ſcarlet cloak and apparel, with which we would indue him, and we had much ado before we could put them upon him; but, being perſuaded at laſt that they would not hurt him, he ſuffered himſelf to be clothed after our will.

But, if he rebelled againſt putting on the robe, how much more did he kick againſt having the crown placed upon his head. In very truth, the poor ſavage did have no idea of what was meant by it, he knowing nothing, either of the majeſty, or meaning, of a crown. Nor could we induce him to bend his knee and kneel; nor would he do it in ſpite of the many perſuaſions, examples, and inſtructions we gave him, even until we were all fairly tired out. But we had not come there ſpecially to crown him, and then go away with our taſk unfiniſhed, ſo that the crown had to be put on him ſomehow. And at laſt we accompliſhed it, for *Newport* and I, by leaning on his ſhoulders,

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did make him ſtoop a little, and then three others of our number, who had the crown ready in their hands, did put it on his head, which being done, a piſtol was fired, as a warning to thoſe in the boats, who were prepared, and they poured forth ſuch a volley of ſhot that the King ſtarted up in a horrible fear, which was not allayed till that he ſaw that all was well. When he had recovered himſelf, in order to requite our kindneſs, he gave his old ſhoes and mantle to Captain *Newport;* but he would not help us in any way againſt the *Monacans;* and, after ſome ſmall complimental kindneſſes on both ſides, he preſented *Newport* with a heap of wheat ears, which might contain ſome ſeven or eight buſhels, and with about as much more, which we bought in the town, we returned to the Fort.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ſeventy coloniſts, which the ſhip brought over, were now all landed, and among them were the firſt gentlewoman, Miſtreſs *Forreſt*, and the firſt woman ſervant, to wit, *Anne Burras*, her maid, that ever we had amongſt us. But they were, as all ſuch cargoes that we had ſent to us, unſuitable to our market; for beſides the two captains, who were to be of our Council, there was

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Maſter *Francis Weſt*, brother to Lord *De la Warre*, and twenty-five other gentlemen, fourteen tradeſmen, and but twelve labourers, which, with ſome boys, Dutchmen,* Poles, and others, made up the number. The ſhip, then, being empty, Captain *Newport*, with 120 choſen men, led by Captain *Waldo*, Lieutenant *Percie*, Captain *Winne*, Maſter *Weſt*, and Maſter *Scrivener*, ſet forward for the diſcovery of *Monacan*, leaving me at the Fort to relade the ſhip, with about eighty or ninety men, ſuch as they were.

Now the *Monacans* lived at the head of *Powhatan* river, upon which, as you know, *James Town* was ſituate, and the expedition having got to the Falls, marched about forty miles inland in two days and a half, and then returned by the ſame way. They diſcovered but two towns of the *Monacans*, and by them were uſed neither well nor ill, although they took priſoner one of the petty kings, and led him, bound, to ſhow them the way. On their return, they ſearched many places for ſuppoſed mines, and, having a refiner with them, they ſpent ſome time in refining the ores, but to no good account, although he endeavoured to perſuade them to believe that he had extracted ſome ſmall quantity of ſilver; and that (which was not unlikely) better ſtuff might be had for the digging.

* Deutſches, or Germans.

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The ſavages would not trade with them, and they could not find where their corn was, for they had hid it in the woods, ſo that, thus deluded, they returned to *James Town*, half of them ſick, all complaining, and tired with toil, famine, and diſcontent, their journey having been perfectly fruitleſs, as I foretold it would be; and, indeed, I was not ſorry that it ſhould ſo be, for it was a good leſſon for them to learn, not to go running after marſh fires, but to truſt to ſteady labour.

I knew full well what miſchief idleneſs wrought, and of that they had had their fill of late, ſo I ſchemed work for all. Some I ſet to make glaſs, others tar, pitch, and potaſhes, and theſe I left at the Fort under the orders of the Council, and in their overſight, for it was but meet that the Council ſhould have ſome taſk to perform, as well as the reſt of the company. For myſelf, I fully perceived how it would be for the good of us all, if ſome of the fine gentlemen of our company, were hardened by ſome little labour with their hands. I well knew the characters of all, and choſe my men accordingly, among them two proper gentlemen of the laſt ſupply, *Gabriel Beadle* and *John Ruſſell*, and with a band of about thirty, I moved down the river ſome five miles from *James Town*, to teach them how to cut down trees, make clapboard, and lie out in the woods; thus inuring

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them to the life they would have to lead, did they want to make the Colony a ſucceſs.

At firſt the hard work, cooking their own food, and lying upon the ground, was very ſtrange to them, but they could ſay nought in diſparagement thereof, for they ſaw that in all things, in lodging, eating and drinking, working or playing, I, their Preſident, fared but as they did: nay, in order to encourage them, it haply might be, that I worked harder and fared worſe than they. All theſe things, therefore, were carried on ſo pleaſantly, that, within a week, they became maſters of their craft; making it their delight to hear the trees thunder as they fell; but the axes ſo oft bliſtered their tender fingers, that many a time every third blow had a loud oath to drown the echo. For the remedy of which ſin, and for the good of their ſouls, as the work was benefiting their bodies, I deviſed how to have every man's oaths numbered, and at night time, when we had a little pleaſant recreation, the culprit was duly arraigned, and for every oath that was recorded againſt him, he did have a can of water poured down his ſleeve. This was the cauſe of much merriment, yet ſomehow thoſe who were puniſhed, liked it not ſo well, as to care ofttimes to have it repeated, and ſo became more guarded of his tongue, and ſoon it came to paſs that a man ſhould ſcarce hear an oath in a week.

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For he who ſcorns and makes but jeſts of curſings, and his oath,
He doeth contemn, not man but God, nor God, nor man, but both.

But in all this, let no man think that I and thoſe gentlemen ſpent their time as common wood-haggers at felling trees, or ſuch like labours, as if we had been preſſed to it as hirelings, or common ſlaves; but what they did, after they were once ſomewhat inured to it, ſeemed (and ſome really thought ſo) only as a pleaſure and a recreation, and thirty or forty of ſuch voluntary gentlemen would do more work in a day, than one hundred of the reſt that muſt be preſſed to it by compulſion; ſtill I ſay not, but that twenty good workmen had been better than them all.

When I returned from the woods, I found that Maſter *Scrivener*, Captain *Waldo*, and Captain *Winne*, had each, in like manner, carefully looked after their charge, but ſeeing the time conſumed, and how that no proviſions had been ſecured (the ſhip all this time lying idle at a great charge), I preſently embarked myſelf in the diſcovery barge, giving orders to the Council to send Lieutenant *Percie* after me with the next barge that arrived at the Fort. I had with me two barges, and eighteen men, and went up the *Chickahominy* river. Arriving at a ſpot I had determined on, I found that this dogged nation was well acquainted with our

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wants, and refuſed to trade, with as much ſcorn and inſolency as they could expreſs. Seeing that it was *Powhatan's* policy to ſtarve us, I told them that I came there not ſo much for corn, as to revenge myſelf on them for my impriſonment, and the murder of our men, and ſo I landed my men, and made as if I would charge them, upon which they immediately fled. But preſently they ſent their Ambaſſadors to me with corn, fiſh, fowl, and whatſoever they had, in order to make their peace. They complained extremely of their own wants (for their corn that year was but bad), yet they freighted our boats with an hundred buſhels of corn, and alſo Lieutenant *Percie's*, who arrived ſoon after, in like manner; and, having done the beſt they could to content us, we parted good friends, and I returned to *James Town.*

My thus returning laden with proviſions, much contented the company, for they feared nothing more than ſtarving: yet there were ſome among them that ſo envied my good ſucceſs, that they would rather have run the hazard of ſtarving, than that my efforts for the benefit of the community ſhould prove ſo much more effectual than theirs. Both *Newport* and *Ratliffe*, who were always to the fore in my diſpraiſe, had, in my abſence, invented some projects, not only to have depoſed me, but to have kept me out of the Fort, for that

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I, being Preſident, had left my place, and the Fort, without their conſent, but their envious conſpiracy came to nought, and had not Captain *Newport* cried *Peccavi*, I would have diſcharged the ſhip, and cauſed him to ſtay one year in *Virginia*, to learn to ſpeak of his own convenience.

All this time, our old tavern, the ſhip, made as much out of all them that had either money, or ware, as could be deſired: indeed, on all ſides, both ſoldiers, ſailors, and ſavages, there was ten times more pains taken to keep up their private, and damnable trade, than to provide the Colony with things that were neceſſary. No wonder that *Newport* and the mariners reported in *England* that we had ſuch plenty, and brought us out ſo many men without victual, when they had ſo many private factors in the Fort, that within ſix or ſeven weeks, of two or three-hundred axes, chiſels, hoes, and pickaxes, ſcarce twenty could be found: and pike-heads, ſhot, powder, and anything they could ſteal from their fellows was vendible, and they knew well enough how to trade ſecretly with the ſavages for furs, baſkets, young beaſts, and ſuch like commodities, or exchange them with the ſailors for butter, cheeſe, beef, pork, aqua vitæ, beer, biſcuit, oatmeal, and oil. We could get no furs, in all *Virginia*, for our ſtores, yet one maſter got

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ſo many by this indirect means, that he confeſſed having ſold them in England for £30.

I ſent Maſter *Scrivener* with the barges and pinnace to *Werowocomoco*, where he found the ſavages more ready to fight than to trade, but owing to his vigilance no hurt was done, and he ſucceeded in getting three or four hogſheads of corn. I was glad to be able to diſpatch Captain *Newport* with ſamples of pitch, tar, glaſs, frankincenſe, and potaſhes, with as much clap-board and wainſcot as could be provided, and he ſailed for *England*, we that remained being in number about two hundred.

Now this was a large number to feed, and we were all ſomewhat affrighted at the proſpect of famine, ſo that I minded me of the promiſe I extorted from the *Cheſapeakes*, at *Nandſamund*, in September laſt, of providing me with four hundred baſkets of corn, or I would burn and deſtroy their place. I took three boats, and was accompanied by Captain *Winne* and Maſter *Scrivener*. However, when we came to *Nandſamund*, the ſavages not only refuſed to deliver me the corn they had promiſed, but would not trade with us in any way; excuſing themſelves that they had ſpent the moſt part that they had gotten, and that they were commanded by *Powhatan* to keep that they had, and not to let us come into their river; ſo that I

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was conſtrained to deal with them per force, and ſhow them I was not to be trifled with, but would make them keep their promiſe. I gave orders to our company to fire, and at the ſound of the muſkets they all fled, and ſhot not an arrow at us. The firſt houſe we came to we ſet on fire, which when they perceived, they deſired we ſhould make no more ſpoil, and they would give us half they had. How they collected it I know not, but before night they loaded our three boats.

After thus teaching them this uſeful leſſon, we dropped down the river to our quarters for the night, which were ſome four miles diſtant. This was an open wood under the lee of a hill, where all the ground was covered with ſnow, and hard frozen. We digged away the ſnow, and made a great fire in its place, and when the ground was well dried and warm, we turned away the fire to another place, and covering the warm earth with a mat, there we lay very warm. To keep away the wind, we made a ſcreen of another mat; if the wind ſhifted, we ſhifted our ſcreen, and when the ground grew cold, we moved the fire again, and once more had a warm bed. And thus, many a cold night, have we lain in this manner, yet thoſe that went commonly upon all like occaſions, were always in health, luſty and fat. Another good reſult of our expedition was, that the ſavages promiſed that becauſe I had

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ſpared them this year, they would plant purpoſely for us.

It was about this time that we had our firſt marriage in *Virginia*, and it was between *John Laydon*, a labourer who came out with me, and *Anne Burras*, Miſtreſs *Forreſt's* maid, and we did not fail to do it all honour and proper courteſy; we ſaw them bedded, and gave them the caudle, but as we had no brideſmaids, we could not throw the ſtocking.

CHAPTER XV.

THE corn I had gotten would laſt a little while, but more muſt be procured, at any coſt, from ſomewhere; ſo I reſolved, with Captain *Waldo* (who I knew I could depend on in time of need), to ſurpriſe *Powhatan* and all his proviſion. Captain *Winne*, however, oppoſed my idea, as did alſo Maſter *Scrivener*, who, for ſome private purpoſe, was plotting in *England* to ruin me, and, together, they did their beſt to hinder my project. But no perſuaſion of theirs could induce me to ſtarve, or to allow thoſe under my care to do ſo, could I prevent it, and I had made up my mind for the expedition, when a meſſage came from *Powhatan*, ſaying he would load my ſhip with corn if I would but ſend

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him ſome men to build him a houſe, give him a grindſtone, fifty ſwords, ſome guns, a cock and a hen, together with much copper and beads.

I was not ignorant of his devices and ſubtlety, yet I was unwilling to neglect any opportunity; ſo I preſently ſent him four Dutchmen and one Engliſhman, and then, with Captain *Waldo* and forty-ſix men in the pinnace and two barges, we ſtarted. I would only take with me ſuch as offered themſelves voluntarily, for the expedition was looked upon as being very dangerous, for they all knew that I would not return empty, were there any corn to be got; however, as I ſay, I would only take volunteers, for I found ſo many that I appointed, make excuſes to ſtay behind. *Scrivener* I left as my deputy at *James Town*, but I took with me Lieutenant *Percie*, brother to my Lord the Earl of *Northumberland*, and alſo Maſter *Francis Weſt*, brother to the Lord *De la Warr*.

The company being victualled but for three or four days, we lodged the firſt night at *Waraſkoyack*, where I managed to get ſufficient proviſion; but the King there, who was a very kind friend to us, did his beſt, by all manner of argument, to divert me from going to *Powhatan;* when, however, he perceived he could not prevail, he adviſed in this manner: "Captain *Smith*, you ſhall find *Powhatan* to uſe you kindly, but truſt him not, and be ſure

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he have no opportunity to ſeize on your arms, for he hath ſent for you only to cut your throats." I thanked him for his good and friendly counſel; yet I put his love to yet a further proof, for I deſired of him guides to *Chawwonock*, to the king of which place I would fain ſend a preſent to bind him as a friend to me. I entruſted this expedition to Mr. *Sicklemore*, a very valiant, honeſt, and painſtaking ſoldier: he took with him two guides, and I gave him inſtructions to ſeek for the loſt company of Sir *Walter Raleigh's*, and alſo to look about him and ſee if there were any ſilk graſs. Then we departed thence, parting very excellent friends, for I did aſſure the King of my perpetual love, and I left my page, *Samuel Collier*, with him to learn the language.

The next night we lodged at *Kecoughton*, and here we were conſtrained to abide for ſix or ſeven days, by reaſon of the extreme wind, rain, froſt, and ſnow, ſo that it cauſed us to keep our Chriſtmas among theſe ſavages. Wherever an Engliſhman may be, and in whatever part of the world, he muſt keep Chriſtmas with feaſting and merriment. And, indeed, we were never more merry, nor fed on more plenty of good oyſters, fiſh, fleſh, wild fowl, and good bread; nor never had better fires in *England* than in the dry, ſmoky houſes of *Kecoughton*.

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But when we departed thence, when we found no houſes, we took not ſo much pleaſure in lying out, three or four nights together, and in any weather, under the trees by a fire, as we had uſed to do, as I told you. There was ſuch plenty of wild fowl that I, *Anthony Bagnall*, and Sergeant *Piſing*, did kill, at three ſhots, one hundred and forty-eight fowls.

At *Kiſkiack*, the froſt and contrary winds forced us to take up our abode with the ſavages, and, indeed, we never wanted ſhelter when we found any houſes. It was on the 12th of January when we arrived at *Werowocomoco*, where we found the river frozen for near half a mile from the ſhore; but I, being unwilling to waſte any time, broke the ice with my barge, as far as I could, and had got ſomewhat nearer the land, when the ebbing of the tide left the boat aground among the oozy ſhoals. Yet rather than lie there for another tide and be frozen to death, I encouraged my companions to follow my example and jump into the river, wading up to our middles in that muddy, frozen ooze. But in this march, Maſter *Ruſſell* (whom none could perſuade to ſtay behind), being ſomewhat ill, and exceeding heavy, ſo overtoiled himſelf that the reſt of us had much ado (ere he got aſhore) to regain life into his benumbed limbs. So we quartered ourſelves in the firſt houſes we came to,

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and ſent to *Powhatan* for proviſions, who ſent us plenty of bread, turkeys, and veniſon.

The next day we viſited him, and, having feaſted us after his ordinary manner, he turned round to me and ſtraitly aſked me when I would begone? Such was the wilineſs of this ſavage, that he feigned that he ſent not for us, neither had he any corn, and his people much leſs; yet, ſaid he, for forty ſwords he would procure us forty baſkets full. I ſhowed him the very men there preſent that brought me the meſſage and conditions, and I aſked *Powhatan* how it chanced he became ſo forgetful? To that he made no anſwer, but concluded this portion of our diſcourſe with a merry laughter, aſking for our commodities, but he liked none without guns and ſwords, valuing a baſket of corn as more precious than a baſket of copper, ſaying he could rate his corn but not the copper.

Now I, ſeeing the intent of this ſubtle ſavage, began to deal with him by telling him that I had many ways by which I could have procured my proviſions; yet, believing his promiſes to ſupply my wants, I came to him—that I had no ſwords nor guns to ſpare, and that what I had would keep me from want, but I wiſhed to be friendly with him.

The King having attentively liſtened to this

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diſcourſe, promiſed that both he and all his country would ſpare me what they could, the which we ſhould receive within two days, but he wiſhed us to lay our weapons aſide, as the people thought we had come to invade and poſſeſs their country.

With many ſuch diſcourſes we ſpent the day, being quartered that night in the King's houſes, and the next day he went on again with his building, which he little intended ſhould proceed. For the Dutchmen, finding *Powhatan's* great plenty, and knowing our want, and perceiving alſo his preparations to ſurpriſe us, little thinking we could eſcape both him and famine, had, in order to obtain his favour, revealed to him as much as they knew of our eſtates and projects, and how to prevent them. One of them, eſpecially, was a man of ſo great ſpirit, underſtanding, judgment, and reſolution, a man that was certain of his wages for his labour, and one whom we ever uſed well, as, indeed, we did all his countrymen. Now I, knowing well this man, and knowing no one whom I could better truſt, nor that was fitter for that employment, had ſent him as a ſpy to diſcover *Powhatan's* intent; at that time little doubting his honeſty, nor truly was I certain of his villany till nearly half a year after.

Whilſt we were awaiting the coming of ſupplies

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from the country, the King and I wrangled over a bargain for ten quarters of corn for a copper kettle; for which, as I ſaw he much affected it, I wanted much more, but having regard to our preſent ſcarcity, I agreed to take it, provided he gave me the ſame quantity next year, or elſe the country of *Monacan,* with which bargain both ſeemed well contented; but *Powhatan,* with great guile, ſtrove to argue that, being good friends, it would be better for us to viſit him without arms, as nought could perſuade his people but that we were come to invade them, and he added, "Think you I am ſo ſimple as not to know that it is better to eat good meat, lie well, and ſleep quietly with my women and children, laugh and be merry with you, have copper, hatchets, or whatever I want, being your friend, than be forced to fly from all, to lie cold in the woods, feed upon acorns, roots, and ſuch traſh, and be ſo hunted by you that I can neither reſt, eat, or ſleep; but my tired men muſt watch, and if a twig but break, every one crieth, 'There cometh Captain *Smith*;' then muſt I fly, I know not whither; and thus with miſerable fear end my miſerable life, leaving my pleaſures to ſuch youths as you."

Herein *Powhatan* ſhowed his ſubtlety, but I replied to him that had we intended him any hurt, we could have effected it long ere this; that his

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people coming to *James Town* were entertained with their bows and arrows without any exception, we eſteeming it with them; as with us, to wear their arms as their apparel. And I added, that I feared no threats of withholding proviſion, for we had a rule by which we could find it without his knowledge.

Many other diſcourſes of the like ſort did we have together, and at laſt we began to trade. But I would order things ſomewhat after my own faſhion, and not altogether as *Powhatan* liked, ſo that he ſoon began to perceive that his will would not be admitted as a law, nor would we diſperſe our guard, nor diſarm our men; and then, with a ſigh, he addreſſed me thus: "Captain *Smith*, I never treated any Chief ſo kindly as yourſelf, and yet from you I receive the leaſt kindneſs of any. Captain *Newport* gave me ſwords, copper, clothes, a bed, towels, or what I deſired, ever taking what I offered him, and would ſend away his guns when I entreated him. Captain *Newport* you call father, and ſo you call me, but I ſee that in ſpite of us both, you will do what you liſt, and we muſt both ſeek to content you. But, if you intend ſo friendly as you ſay, ſend hence your arms, that I may believe you, for the love I bear you doth cauſe me thus nakedly to forget myſelf."

But I could plainly ſee what *Powhatan's* object

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was, namely, but to trifle away the time, ſo that he might ſecurely cut our throats; ſo I got ſome of the ſavages to break the ice, ſo that my boat might come to fetch both the corn and myſelf, and I alſo gave orders for more men to come on ſhore, for indeed I did mean to ſurpriſe the King, and in the meanwhile to keep him from ſuſpicion. I diſſembled with him, beguiling him after this manner: "*Powhatan*, you muſt know, as I have but one God, I honour but one King; and I live not here as your ſubject, but as your friend, to pleaſure you with what I can. By the gifts you beſtow on me, you gain more than by trade; yet, would you viſit me as I do you, you ſhould know it is not our cuſtom to ſell our courteſies as a vendible commodity. Bring all your countrymen with you for your guard, I will not diſlike it as being over jealous. But, to content you, tomorrow I will leave my arms, and truſt to your promiſe. I call you father, indeed, and as a father you ſhall ſee I will love you, but the ſmall care you have of ſuch a child cauſed my men to perſuade me to look to myſelf."

This crafty ſavage, however, was but ſpeaking and acting falſely all the time, and took the opportunity, whilſt the ice was being broken, and before I could receive any reinforcements, to flee with all his women, children, and luggage. Yet,

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to avoid ſuſpicion, did he leave two or three of the women talking with me, ſo that I might hear nought of their removal, until they had gotten far away, and his men had ſecretly ſurrounded and beſet the houſe. I found, however, that ſomething unuſual was afoot, and ſeizing my piſtol, ſword, and target, I very ſoon cleared a road for myſelf among thoſe naked devils. At the very firſt ſhot thoſe next to me tumbled one over another, and the reſt quickly fled, ſome one way, ſome another; ſo that without any hurt, and only accompanied by *John Ruſſell*, I reached the main guard.

When the ſavages perceived that I ſo eaſily eſcaped, and that I and my eighteen men (for I had no more) cared nought for them, they uſed the uttermoſt of their ſkill to make excuſes, and diſſemble the matter, and *Powhatan*, to excuſe his flight, and the ſudden coming of this multitude, ſent me a great bracelet and a chain of pearls, which were brought by an old man, who made an oration to this effect: "Captain *Smith*, our chief is fled, fearing your guns; and knowing that when the ice was broken, there would come more men, he has ſent this number of men to guard his corn from being ſtolen, which might happen without your knowledge. Now, although ſome of them be hurt by you, yet *Powhatan* is your friend, and ſo

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will for ever continue. Since the ice is open, he would have you ſend away your corn, and, if you would have his company, ſend away alſo your guns, which ſo affright his people, that they dare not come to you, as he promiſed they ſhould."

Then, having provided baſkets for our men to carry our corn to the boats, they kindly offered their ſervices to guard our arms, that none ſhould ſteal them. There were a great many of them, and moſt of them goodly, well-proportioned fellows, as grim as fiends, yet were they ſo timid at the very ſight of our cocking our matches and preparing to let fly, that a very few words cauſed them to leave their bows and arrows in our keeping, and carry down our corn upon their backs; and they did this with ſuch a will, that we needed not to importune them to make diſpatch, they did ſo earneſtly want to ſee our backs. But we could not gratify them in this matter as ſpeedily as they wiſhed, for, it being ebb tide, our barges were left on the ooze, and we were obliged to ſtay till the next high water, ſo that we returned again to our old quarters.

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CHAPTER XVI.

IN the meantime, *Powhatan*, and the Dutchmen I had lent him, were burſting to have my head, for they thought, ſurely, could they but kill me, all would be theirs, and they neglected no opportunity to effect their purpoſe. And the Indians craftily kept up a ſemblance of friendſhip, and, with all the merry ſports they could deviſe, ſpent the time till night; but then they all returned to *Powhatan*, who, all this time, was making ready his forces with intent to ſurpriſe the houſe, and all of us, while we were at ſupper. Notwithſtanding, the eternal, all-ſeeing God did prevent him, and by a ſtrange means, for *Pocahontas*, the King's deareſt jewel and daughter, who beforetimes had ſaved my life, in that dark night came through the irkſome woods, and told me of all their deceitful plots. How that *Powhatan* would ſend us great cheer for our ſuppers, by and by; but that he, and all the power he could aſſemble, would afterwards come and kill us all, if they that brought us the food could not kill us with our own weapons while we were at ſupper. Therefore, this dear little maid weepingly begged me preſently to begone, did we wiſh to live. I thanked her for her kindneſs, and would fain have given her ſuch things as ſhe

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delighted in; but, with the tears running down her cheeks, ſhe ſaid ſhe muſt not take them, and durſt not be ſeen to have any of them, for, if *Powhatan* ſhould know it, ſhe were but dead; and ſo ſuddenly ſhe left me, and ran away by herſelf as ſhe came.

Things fell out even as ſhe had ſaid, for within leſs than an hour came eight or ten luſty fellows, with great platters of veniſon and other victual, and they were very importunate to have us put out our matches (for, being forewarned, we were forearmed, and kept our guns in readineſs) ſaying that the ſmoke from them made them ſick, and they much preſſed us to ſit down to our victual. But I, knowing their ſubtlety, made them taſte of every diſh, leſt it ſhould contain poiſon, and when they had done ſo, I ſent ſome of them back to *Powhatan* to bid him make haſte and attack us, for I was prepared for his coming; and, as for them, I told them I knew they came to betray me at ſupper, but I would take care to fruſtrate all their other intended villanies, ſo they might take themſelves off and be gone. They departed, but not long after came more meſſengers to ſee what news, and not long after them came others. Thus we ſpent the night as vigilantly as they, till it was high water, yet we feigned, and did ſeem to be friendly to the ſavages, as they to us; and to ſhow that I was deſirous to give *Powhatan*

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content, I did leave him *Edward Brynton* to kill him fowl, and the Dutchmen to finiſh his houſe; but at the ſame time I thought I would viſit *Pamaunkee*, and would return here after the froſt was gone, when I might find a better opportunity, if neceſſity did occaſion it. But I little dreamed of the Dutchmen's treachery, of which you ſhall hear.

We had no ſooner ſet ſail than *Powhatan* returned, and he forthwith ſent *Adam* and *Francis* (two ſtout Dutchmen) to *James Town*. At their coming thither they feigned to Captain *Winne* that all was well, and that I had need of their arms, and was uſing them, wherefore they aſked for new ones, which were given them. They alſo told him that the reaſon of their coming was for ſome more tools and ſhift of apparel. Then they went among ſome of their confederates in the Fort, ſuch expert thieves that they preſently furniſhed them with a great many ſwords, pike-heads, guns, ſhot, powder, and ſuchlike; ſavages they had at hand to carry the ſtolen goods away, and the next day they returned unſuſpected, leaving their confederates to follow them at their convenience, and in the interim to convey to them ſuch things as they could; for doing which ſervice they promiſed they ſhould live with *Powhatan* as his dear friends, free from thoſe miſeries which were ſure to happen to the Colony. *Powhatan* kept *Samuel*, the other Dutchman, as a

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hoſtage, and kept him hard at work as a blackſmith, and ſuch was his diligence that he made three hundred of their kind of hatchets; and the other two Dutchmen got, in all, fifty ſwords, eight guns, and eight pikes. *Brynton* and *Richard Savage*, ſeeing the Dutchmen ſo diligent to accommodate the ſavages with weapons, attempted to leave the country, and reach *James Town*, but they were apprehended, and expected every moment to be put to death.

It took us but two or three days to reach *Pamaunkee*, and when we had got there, the King entertained us as many days with feaſting and much mirth; and on the day appointed to begin our trade, I, accompanied by Lieutenant *Percie*, Mr. *Weſt*, and thirteen others, went up to *Opechancanough's* houſe, which was about a quarter of a mile from the river; but, to our great ſurpriſe, we found no one there but a lame fellow, and a boy; and all the houſes round about abandoned. However, we ſtayed not long ere the King arrived, and after him came divers of his people armed with bows and arrows. But they brought little or no corn with them, and even that they eſteemed at ſuch a coſt that I had to addreſs the King in this manner:

"*Opechancanough*, the great love you profeſs with your tongue ſeems mere deceit by your actions.

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Laſt year you kindly freighted our ſhip, but now you have invited me to ſtarve with hunger. You know my want, and I your plenty; of which, by ſome means, I muſt have part: remember, it is fit for kings to keep their promiſe. Here are my commodities, whereof take your choice; the reſt I will proportion fit bargains for your people."

The King ſeemed kindly to accept this offer, and, the better to colour his project, promiſed that the next day, he would come with a greater company, better provided. I committed the charge of the barges and the pinnace to Mr. *Phetiplace;* and I with my little band of fifteen marched up to the King's house, where we found four or five men newly arrived, each with a great baſket. Not long after came the King, who with a ſtrained cheerfulneſs held us in diſcourſe, dwelling much upon the pains he had taken to keep his promiſe. Suddenly, in ruſhed Mr. *Ruſſell*, crying out that we were all betrayed. And ſo it proved; for, at leaſt ſeven hundred ſavages, well armed, had environed the houſe, and were in the fields round about. The King evidently gueſſed what *Ruſſell* had ſaid, as we could well perceive by his geſtures and behaviour.

Some of our company, too, ſeemed to be greatly diſmayed, ſo to encourage them, I made a ſpeech to the following effect: "Worthy countrymen,

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were the miſchiefs of my ſeeming friends no more than the danger of theſe enemies, I little care were there as many more, did you dare do but as I. But this is my torment; that if I eſcape them, our malicious Council, with their open-mouthed minions, will make me ſuch a peace-breaker (in their opinions in *England*) as will break my neck. I would wiſh thoſe here, that make theſe ſeem ſaints, and me an oppreſſor. But this is the worſt of all, wherein I pray you aid me with your opinions. Should we begin with them, and ſurpriſe the King, we cannot keep him and defend well ourſelves. If we ſhould each kill our man, and ſo proceed with all in the houſe, the reſt will all fly; then ſhall we get no more than the bodies that are ſlain, and ſo ſtarve for victual. As for their fury, it is the leaſt danger, for well you know, being alone, and aſſaulted by two or three hundred of them, I made them, by the help of God, compound to ſave my life. And we are ſixteen, and they are but ſeven hundred at the moſt; and aſſure yourſelves, God will ſo aſſiſt us, that if you dare ſtand but to diſcharge your pieces, the very ſmoke will be ſufficient to affright them. Yet, howſoever, let us fight like men, and not die like ſheep: for by that means you know God hath oft delivered me, and ſo I truſt will now. But firſt, I will deal with them, to bring it to paſs that we

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may fight for ſomething, and draw them to it by conditions. If you like this notion, promiſe me you will be valiant."

It was lucky that time did not permit any argument or debate upon my ſpeech, the neceſſity for preſent action being manifeſt, ſo all vowed to execute whatever I ſhould attempt, or die. Whereupon, in plain terms, I thus addreſſed the King: "I ſee, *Opechancanough*, your plot to murder me, but I fear it not. As yet your men and mine have done no harm, but by our direction. Take therefore your arms, you ſee mine, my body ſhall be as naked as yours: the Iſle in your river is a fit place, if you be contented: and the conqueror, of us two, ſhall be lord and maſter over all our men. If you have not enough, take time to fetch more, and bring what number you will: ſo every one bring a baſket of corn, againſt all which I will ſtake the value in copper; you ſee I have but fifteen men, and the game at which you and I will play, is the conqueror takes all."

This open challenge was not to the King's taſte, nor was it after their manner, for they are accuſtomed to do nothing openly, they can do by craft; and here, had I not been on the alert, they might have ſucceeded. For the King, who was guarded by fifty or ſixty of his chief men, ſeemed to wiſh to appeaſe my ſuſpicion of unkindneſs, and ſpake to

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me of a great preſent he wiſhed to give me, which was waiting for me at the door. But this ſeeming kindneſs was only to draw me out of the door, where the bait was guarded by at leaſt two hundred men, and thirty under a great tree (that lay athwart as a barricado) each having his arrow fitted to the bow-ſtring ready to ſhoot. I commanded one of our party, whom I will not name, to go and ſee what manner of deceit they were about to practiſe, and to receive the preſent, but he was afraid, and refuſed to go: on which the gentlemen of my little band, and, indeed, all the reſt of them, were importunate to go, but I would not permit them, being vexed at that *Coward.* I commanded Lieutenant *Percie*, Maſter *Weſt*, and the reſt to make good the houſe, and Maſter *Powell*, and Maſter *Behethland* I told off to guard the door, and then, being in a great rage, I ſnatched the King by his long lock, which he wore after their faſhion, and in the midſt of his men, and had my piſtol ready bent againſt his cheſt. And thus I led the trembling King, who was near dead with fear, amongſt all his people, and there he delivered up to me his vambrace, bow, and arrows, after which it was but a ſmall matter to get all his men to throw down their arms, they being utterly aſtounded, little dreaming that any one durſt, in that manner, have uſed their King, who, to eſcape,

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eſtowed his preſents with good earneſt, albeit
vith ſadneſs. Then I cauſed a great number to
ome before me unarmed, and, ſtill holding the

ing by the hair of his head, I ſpake to them to
is effect:

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"I ſee (you *Pamaunkees*) the great deſire you

have to kill me, and my long ſuffering your injuries hath emboldened you to this preſumption. The reaſon why I have forborne your inſolencies, is the promiſe I made you (before the God I ſerve) to be your friend, till you give me juſt cauſe to be your enemy. If I keep my vow, my God will keep me; you cannot hurt me; if I break it, He will deſtroy me. But if you ſhoot but one arrow, or ſhed but one drop of blood of any of my men, or ſteal the leaſt of theſe beads or copper, I ſpurn you here before me with my foot. You ſhall ſee I will not ceaſe revenge (if once I begin), ſo long as I can hear where to find one of your nation that will not deny the name of *Pamaunk*. I am not now at *Raſſaweak*, half drowned with mire, where you took me priſoner; yet then, for your keeping your promiſe, and your good uſage and ſaving my life, I ſo affect you, that your denials of treachery do half perſuade me to miſtake myſelf. But if *I* be the mark you aim at, here I am; ſhoot he that dare. You promiſed to freight my ſhip ere I departed, and ſo you ſhall, or I mean to load her with your dead carcaſes; yet, if as friends you will come and trade, I once more promiſe not to trouble you, except you give me the firſt occaſion, and your King ſhall be free and be my friend, for I am not come to hurt him or any of you."

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Upon this, away went their bows and arrows, and men, women, and children brought in their commodities. For two or three hours they ſo thronged about me, that they over-wearied me, ſo that I retired to reſt, leaving Maſter *Behethland* and Maſter *Powell* to receive their preſents; and now mark the treachery of theſe ſavages, for ſome of them perceiving me faſt aſleep, and the guard ſomewhat careleſſly diſpoſed, about forty or fifty of their chief men, armed either with a club or an Engliſh ſword, began to enter the houſe, followed by two or three hundred others, who preſſed to ſecond them. The noiſe and haſte they made did ſo ſhake the houſe, that they awoke me from my ſleep, and being amazed at this ſudden ſight, I ſtraightway betook myſelf to my ſword and target. Maſter *Craſhaw* and ſome ſoldiers came at that moment to my aſſiſtance, and charged them in like manner, whereat they thronged faſter backward than before they did forward. Having cleared the houſe of them, it was not long before the King, who was aware that his treacherous plan had failed, came with ſome of his chiefs, and with long oration tried to excuſe the intruſion. It was the beſt policy for me to pretend to believe him, and ſo I did, and the reſt of the day was ſpent with much kindneſs, the Indians again renewing their preſents with their beſt proviſions,

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and whatſoever I gave them they ſeemed therewith well contented.

CHAPTER XVII.

NOW in the meantime, after our departure, a great event happened at the Fort, which was this: Maſter *Scrivener*, whom I ever regarded as myſelf, having received letters from *England*, telling him to make himſelf either Cæſar or nothing, began to decline in his affection for me, and would fain have croſſed my deſire to ſurpriſe *Powhatan*. A few days after my departure, he would needs go viſit the *Iſle of Hogs*, and took with him Captain *Waldo* (although I had eſpecially appointed him to come to my aſſiſtance in caſe of need,) together with Maſter *Anthony Goſnoll* and eight others; but ſo violent was the wind, for it was then the depth of winter, and an extremely frozen time, that the boat ſank, but where, or how, none ever knew; the ſkiff was much over-laden, and could ſcarce have lived had ſhe been empty, in ſuch an extreme tempeſt, but he could be diverted of no perſuaſion, although *Waldo* and an hundred others thought how it would turn out. Their bodies were firſt found by the ſavages, and it greatly encouraged them in their conduct toward us

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in after-time. It was needful that I ſhould know of this miſhap, but although all were aware of its neceſſity, none could be found to undertake it, the journey being refuſed by all in the Fort, ſave only Maſter *Richard Wyffin*, and he alone undertook the performance thereof.

In his journey to meet me, he was encountered with many dangers and difficulties in all parts, as he went on his way; and on the night he lodged with *Powhatan*, he perceived ſuch preparations for war, that, not finding me there, he did aſſure himſelf that ſome miſchief was intended. *Pocahontas* hid him for a time, and ſent thoſe that purſued him the clean contrary way to ſeek him, and by her means, by extraordinary bribes, and much trouble, after three days' travel, he found us at length, when we were in the midſt of theſe turmoils. Knowing the effect this unhappy news would have upon our men, I ſwore him to conceal it from the company, and I diſſembled my ſorrow with the beſt countenance I could, and when the night approached, I went ſafely aboard with all my ſoldiers, leaving *Opechancanough* at liberty, as I had promiſed, and then went to viſit *Powhatan*.

Now *Powhatan* had breathed forth fire and fury, and had ſo extremely threatened his men with death if they did not kill me, that the next

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day they appointed that all the country ſhould come to trade unarmed; yet even theſe poor ſavages were unwilling to be treacherous, ſave that they were ſo conſtrained, hating fighting with me as much as they did hanging—ſuch fear had they of good ſucceſs. The next morning the ſun had not long appeared before the fields appeared covered with people carrying baſkets to tempt us on ſhore, but they would not trade nor ſell us anything except that I was preſent; ſeeing which, I would not go aſhore, or, if ſo, it would be be in company of ſome well armed, and they could not endure the ſight of a gun.

Failing to lure me aſhore, they began to depart, which when I ſaw, being unwilling to loſe ſo great a booty, I made moſt of the men in the pinnace and the barges hide themſelves, as an ambuſcado, and only accompanied by Lieutenant *Percie*, Maſter *Weſt*, and Maſter *Ruſſell*, all well armed, I went on ſhore; and others I appointed to receive what was brought, but they were unarmed. The ſavages came down in large numbers, and, knowing that I could uſe the bank of the river as a trench, I drew them well within reach of my ambuſcado. As I was not to be perſuaded to viſit the King, he, knowing the moſt of us to be unarmed, came to viſit me with two or three hundred men, in the form of two half-moons, and with ſome twenty men, and many

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women, with painted baſkets. But when they approached ſomewhat near us, their women and children fled, for when they had thus environed us, they thought their purpoſe ſure, yet they ſo trembled with fear, that they were ſcarce able to fit their arrows to their bow-ſtrings. There I ſtood with my three companions, with our guns ready to fire, looking at them till they were well in reach of my ambuſcado, who, upon the word being given, diſcovered themſelves, and we retired to the barge. Which, when the ſavages perceived, away they fled, ſhowing the uſe of their heels to the beſt advantage.

That night I ſent Maſter *Craſhaw* and Maſter *Ford* to *James Town* to warn Captain *Winne* how I was ſituated, and as they journeyed, they met four or five of the Dutchmen's confederates who had left the Fort, intending to join *Powhatan*. Theſe rogues were ſore aſtoniſhed at being thus confronted, and, ſtammering out an excuſe that they were but roaming about, and to diſarm the ſuſpicion of the gentlemen that they intended to run to the ſavages, they returned to the Fort, and there continued.

The ſavages hearing our barge go down the river in the night, were ſo terribly afraid that we had ſent for more men (we having ſo much threatened their ruin, to burn their houſes, and to de-

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ſtroy their boats and weirs) that the next day the King ſent me a chain of pearls, in order to get me to change my mind and ſtop, promiſing, although they were ſhort of proviſions themſelves, to freight our ſhip and bring the corn on board, ſo that we could have no ſuſpicion of their conduct. And in five or ſix days after, from all parts of the country within the compaſs of ten or twelve miles, although it was extreme froſt and ſnow, they brought us proviſions on their naked backs.

Yet even now muſt they needs be treacherous, and, had their ſkill been equal to their foul intentions, both I, Maſter *Weſt*, and ſome others, had been poiſoned. As it was, it did but make us ſick, and thus expelled itſelf. *Wecuttanow*, a ſtout young fellow, knowing he was ſuſpected of bringing this poiſoned preſent, and ſeeing that I had but a few followers, whilſt he had forty or fifty companions, bragged ſo proudly about it, as it ſeemed as though he expected to encounter a revenge. Which, when I perceived, I took him out of the midſt of his company, and did not only beat him ſoundly, but ſpurned him like a dog, as if I ſcorned to do him any worſe miſchief. Whereupon all of them fled into the woods, thinking they had done a great matter to have ſo well eſcaped, and the townſmen remaining, preſently freighted our barge to be rid of our company, making many

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excuſes for *Wecuttanow* (who was *Powhatan's* ſon), and they told us that if we would ſhow them him that brought the poiſon, they would deliver him to us to puniſh as we pleaſe.

Men may think it ſtrange that there ſhould be ſo great a ſtir about a little corn, but had it been gold, we might more eaſily have gotten it, and had I not obtained it, the Colony would have ſtarved. We may be thought very patient for enduring all thoſe injuries, yet it was only by frightening them we got all we deſired, and all they had; whereas, had we revenged ourſelves, then by their loſs, had we been loſt. We ſearched alſo the countries of *Youghtanund* and *Mattapannent*, where the people imparted the little they had, with ſuch complaints, lamentations, and tears from the eyes of women and children, that there is no man, calling himſelf a Chriſtian, but what would have been ſatisfied and moved with compaſſion. But had this happened in October, November, or December, we might have freighted a ſhip of forty tons, and twice as much might have been had from the rivers of *Rapahannock*, *Patawomek*, and *Pawtuxum*.

Still, and this was the main occaſion of our thus temporizing, I wiſhed to part friends with them, ſo as to give *Powhatan* the leſs cauſe to fly, for I ſtill intended to carry out my plan, and ſurpriſe him

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and take his ſtore of proviſion. So we returned by his way, and, when we came to his town, the better to effect my purpoſe, I ſent Maſter *Wyffin* and Maſter *Coe* aſhore to diſcover how things were, and to make way for my intended project. But what think you? They found thoſe curſed, treacherous Dutchmen had cauſed *Powhatan* to abandon his new houſe, and his town, and carry away all his corn and proviſion; and not only ſo, but even the people were ſo ill affected, that they were in great doubt whether they ſhould have eſcaped with their lives. So, finding my intent fruſtrated, that there was nothing now to be had, and that it was an unfit time to revenge my injuries, I ſent one whom I could truſt, Maſter *Michael Phettiplace*, by land to *James Town*, whither we ſailed with all the ſpeed we could. And, indeed, when I came to reckon up, we had not done badly, for at the coſt of only 25 lbs. of copper, and 50 lbs. of iron and beads, we had got enough proviſions to have kept our forty-ſix men for ſix weeks, beſides giving to every man, as a reward, a month's proviſions over and above. Yet did we deliver into ſtore at *James Town*, after our arrival, near 200 lbs. weight of deer's fat and 479 buſhels of corn.

After the departure of the ſhips, all the proviſion in ſtore (ſave that which I had got) was ſo rotten by reaſon of laſt ſummer's rain, and alſo that

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it was eaten by rats and worms, that the hogs would ſcarce eat it. Yet it was the ſoldiers' diet until our return, when we found nothing done, ſave that our victual was ſpent, and that the moſt part of our tools, and a good part of our arms, had been conveyed to the ſavages. But when we came to reckon up our ſtore, I found ſufficient to laſt till the next harveſt, ſo that we thought no more of ſtarving, and the company was divided into tens, fifteens, or ſuch numbers as the buſineſs required. We ſpent ſix hours a day in work, and the reſt in paſtime and merry exerciſes, in order to keep up the ſpirits of our men, but ſtill the greateſt number were froward, and their untowardneſs cauſed me to addreſs them as followeth:—

"Countrymen, the long experience of our late miſeries, I hope, is ſufficient to perſuade everyone to a preſent correction of himſelf, and think not that either my pains, or the Adventurers' purſes, will ever maintain you in idleneſs and ſloth. I ſpeak not this to you all, for divers of you, I know, deſerve both honour and reward. Better, then, is yet here to be had; but the greater part muſt be induſtrious, or ſtarve, no matter however you have been heretofore tolerated by the authority of the Council, differently from that I have often commanded you. You ſee now that power reſteth wholly in myſelf. You muſt obey this now for a

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law, that *he that will not work ſhall not eat* (except by ſickneſs he be diſabled), for the labours of thirty or forty honeſt and induſtrious men ſhall not be conſumed to maintain an hundred and fifty idle loiterers. And though you preſume that the authority here is but a ſhadow, and that I dare not touch the lives of any of you, but mine own muſt anſwer for it; the Letters Patent ſhall each week be read to you, whoſe contents will tell you the contrary. I would wiſh you, therefore, without contempt, ſeek to obſerve thoſe orders ſet down for there are no more Councillors to protect you, nor to curb my endeavours. Therefore, he that offendeth, let him aſſuredly expect his due puniſhment."

By degrees I got them into better ways, for I made a liſt or table, which was a public memorial, and eaſy of acceſs, and for every man to ſee, of each man's deſerts, and the amount of work he had done, in order to encourage the good, and with ſhame, to ſpur on the reſt to amendment. By this means many became very induſtrious, yet were there more who, by puniſhment, performed their buſineſs, for all were ſo taſked that no excuſe could prevail to deceive me. And yet all this time the Dutchmen's friends and confederates, who were within the Fort, ſo cloſely and privately conveyed them powder, ſhot, ſwords, and tools, that though we

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could find out the defect, we could not find by whom it was taken till too late.

CHAPTER XVIII.

NOW theſe accurſed traitors, the Dutchmen, were not content with ſimply robbing us, they plotted to take away my life, as you ſhall hear. *Powhatan* kindly entertained them, ſo that they might inſtruct his ſavages in the uſe of our arms, and finding their friends and conſorts not following them as they expected, in order to find out the cauſe, they ſent one of their number, named *Francis*, a ſtout young fellow, diſguiſed like a ſavage, to the *Glaſs Houſe*, a place in the woods, near a mile from *James Town;* which place they uſed as a rendezvous for all their unſuſpected villany. Well, they got forty men to lie in ambuſcado for me, but I no ſooner heard of this Dutchman than I ſent to apprehend him, but he was gone; yet, to prevent his return to *Powhatan*, I preſently deſpatched twenty armed men after him, and I myſelf returned from the *Glaſs Houſe* alone.

And here I fell in with another adventure, which had gone nigh to have coſt me my life, for as I was walking home alone, muſing on the affairs of the

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Colony, I perceived a moſt ſtrong and ſtout ſavage, the King of *Paſpahegh*, who with many lures and ſubtle devices ſtrove to entice me into his ambuſh, but when he found that all his perſuaſions were of none effect, and ſeeing me all unarmed, ſave with my faulchion, he attempted to have ſhot me, but this I prevented, by at once grappling with him.

But if I prevented him from ſhooting me, he alſo hindered me from drawing and uſing my faulchion, ſo there was nothing for it but to fairly wreſtle for our lives. His great height and ſtrength were greatly in his favour, ſo that by ſheer force he bore me into the river to have drowned me: and in the water did a fearful ſtruggle enſue. More than

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once I thought that ſurely I ſhould have the worſt of it, and ſo, in good truth, do I think even now, had it not have been that I got ſuch a good hold and fair grip of his throat, that I had near ſtrangled the King, and then was able to draw my faulchion, with which I was going to cut off his head, but he begged his life ſo pitifully, that I ſpared him, and leading him priſoner to *James Town*, had him put in chains.

The Dutchman, ere long, was alſo brought in, and though all this time his villany was ſuſpected, yet nothing could be abſolutely proved againſt him, and he feigned a pretty tale to Captain *Winne*, who, however, could not underſtand him rightly, by reaſon of his not knowing the language well. The ſtory that he told was, that in order to ſave their lives, they were obliged to accommodate themſelves to *Powhatan*, and were conſtrained by him to teach the ſavages the uſe of our arms. He complained bitterly of having been detained perforce, and ſaid he had made this eſcape at the hazard of his life, and had not meant to return, but was only walking in the woods to gather walnuts. Yet for all this fair tale, there was ſo ſmall an appearance of truth in it, and *Paſpahegh* did ſo plainly tell us of the man's treachery, that without more ado I laid my knave by the heels.

Now, I was minded to ſave the poor ſavage's life

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on condition that my Dutchmen were returned to me, and, truly, the King did his beſt towards that end, ſending daily meſſengers to *Powhatan*, but they one and all returned with the ſame ſtory, that the Dutchmen would not return, and that *Powhatan* neither ſtayed, nor hindered them: yet were they not able to bring them fifty miles on men's backs. I treated *Paſpahegh* with kindneſs, and allowed his wives, children, and other people to come and viſit him. They came laden with preſents, which he liberally beſtowed to make his peace. Indeed I think he muſt have needs given his guard ſomething of more value than ordinary, for they grew negligent and guarded him not aright, ſo that although he was fettered, he eſcaped. I was away at the time, but Captain *Winne* purſued after him, yet he found ſuch troops of ſavages, who had come to reſcue their King, that they hindered his paſſage, although they exchanged many volleys of ſhot, and flights of arrows.

When I returned to the Fort, I heard of this, and at once took two ſavages priſoners, called *Kemps* and *Tuſſore*, who were the two moſt exact villains in all the country. I then ſent theſe two in charge of Captain *Winne*, and Lieutenant *Percie*, together with fifty choſen men to revenge the injury; and ſo had they done, if they had followed my inſtructions, or had been adviſed by thoſe two villains, whom I

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purpoſely ſent with them; they would have betrayed both King and kindred for a piece of copper. But Captain *Winne* trifled away the night, and the ſavages, next morning, at the riſing of the ſun, taunted him, and braved and dared him to come aſhore to fight. Both ſides let fly at each other for a good time, but I heard of no hurt that happened to either; all they did was to take two canoes, burn the King's houſe, and having done this, they returned to *James Town.*

Now I liked not this child's play, and fearing that theſe bravados, which came to none effect, would but encourage the ſavages, began again myſelf to try concluſions with them, and killed ſome ſix or ſeven of them, taking as many others priſoners. I burnt their houſes, took their boats, and all their fiſhing weirs, planting ſome of them at *James Town* for my own uſe, and now I reſolved to be in earneſt, and not to ceaſe till I had revenged myſelf on all them that had injured me. In my journey for this purpoſe I paſſed by *Paſpahegh* going towards *Chicahomania*, and the ſavages did their beſt to draw me into their ambuſcados, and ſeeing that I cared not for them, but was diſregardingly paſſing by their country, they waxed exceeding courageous, and ſhowed themſelves in their braveſt manner. This was as much as I could ſtand, ſo to try their valour, I could not but let fly, and, ere I could land,

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they recogniſed me, and no ſooner did they know me, but they threw down their arms and deſired peace. Their orator was a luſty young fellow named *Okaning*, whoſe worthy diſcourſe deſerveth to be remembered. And thus it was:

"Captain *Smith*, my maſter is here preſent in the company, thinking it to be Captain *Winne* (of whom he intended to have been revenged, having never offended him), and not you. If he hath offended you in eſcaping your impriſonment, the fiſhes ſwim, the fowls fly, and the very beaſts ſtrive to eſcape the ſnare and line. Then blame not him, being a man. He would entreat you to remember, you being a priſoner, what pains he took to ſave your life. If, ſince, he hath injured you, he was conſtrained to it: but, howſoever, you have revenged it with our too great loſs. We perceive, and well know, how you intend to deſtroy *us*, that are here to entreat and deſire your friendſhip, and to enjoy our houſes, and plant our fields, of whoſe fruit you ſhall participate; for we can plant anywhere, though with more labour, and we know you cannot live, if you want our harveſt, and that relief we bring you. If you promiſe us peace, we will believe you; if you proceed in revenge, we will abandon the country."

Upon theſe terms I promiſed them peace, till they did us an injury, upon condition they

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ſhould bring in proviſion. Thus we all departed good friends, and ſo we continued till I left the country. This ſhows pretty plainly the proper courſe to be purſued towards ſavages: to ſuffer no injury from them, but to repay it, and then from fearing, they will get to love you.

And now, after all this ſeverity and ſlaughter I muſt needs tell you of a ſomewhat laughable thing that happened after my return to *James Town*, by which you will ſee what ſimple folk theſe ſavages were. When I returned, complaint was made to me that the Indians of *Chickahomania*, who all this while traded with us and ſeemed our friends, were, under colour thereof, only thieves. Amongſt other things, a piſtol had been ſtolen, and the thief had fled, ſo two proper young fellows, that were brothers, and who were known to be his confederates, were apprehended. Now in order to regain this piſtol, one of them was impriſoned, and kept as a hoſtage, whilſt the other was let looſe, and ſent to return the piſtol again within twelve hours, or his brother would be hanged.

I pitied the poor naked ſavage in his cold, damp dungeon, and ſent him ſome victual, and ſome charcoal for a fire. Ere midnight came, his brother returned with the piſtol, and then we went together to ſee the priſoner, but, to my grievous horror, I found the poor ſavage ſo ſmothered and

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ſuffocated by the ſmoke of the charcoal, that he lay on the floor of the dungeon as if he were dead, beſides which he was piteouſly burnt by reaſon of falling into the fire. The other moſt lamentably bewailed his death, and broke forth into ſuch bitter agonies that I, to quiet him, told him that, if hereafter they would not ſteal, I would bring him to life again, yet little thought I, he could be recovered. Yet we did our beſt. with aqua vitæ and vinegar, and at length it pleaſed God to reſtore him again to life, but ſo drunk and affrighted that he ſeemed lunatic, the which as much tormented and grieved the other, as before to ſee him dead.

However, upon ſolemn promiſe of their good behaviour, I promiſed to recover him of his malady; and directed he ſhould be laid by a fire to ſleep, and in the morning, having well ſlept, he recovered his perfect ſenſes. His wounds from the burning then having been dreſſed, and each a piece of copper given them, they went away ſo well contented that it was ſpread among all the ſavages for a miracle, that Captain *Smith* could make a man alive that was dead.

Another ſtory will ſhow their ſimplicity. An ingenious ſavage, one of *Powhatan's* tribe, having gotten a great bag of powder, and a ſoldier's iron back-plate, was at *Werowocomoco*, amongſt a many of his companions, and, to ſhow his extraordinary

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ſkill, he did dry it over the fire in the iron back-plate, as he had ſeen the ſoldiers do at *James Town.* But he dried it too long, and whilſt ſome of his friends were peeping over it to ſee his ſkill, it took fire, and blew him and one or two more to death, and ſo ſcorched the reſt that they had little pleaſure to meddle any more with powder.

Theſe and many other ſuch pretty accidents, ſo amazed and affrighted both *Powhatan* and all his people, that from all parts, with preſents, they deſired peace; returning many ſtolen things which we never demanded, nor thought of; yea, ſuch good effect had they, that they made rogues ingrain, honeſt men, for after they happened, thoſe who were taken ſtealing, were ſent back, both by *Powhatan* and his people, to *James Town*, to receive whatever puniſhment might be adjudged them. And ſo all the country became quiet, and abſolutely as free for us as for the ſavages themſelves.

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CHAPTER XIX.

NOW were we able greatly to follow our buſineſs, and every man was ſet his taſk, and having, as we thought, plenty of food, all worked with a will, ſo that in three months' time, we had made three or four laſts* of tar, pitch, and ſoap aſhes; had made an eſſay, and produced ſome glaſs, dug a well in the Fort, which yielded us excellent ſweet water, which till then was wanting; built ſome twenty houſes; put a freſh roof on to our church, provided nets and weirs for fiſhing; and to put a ſtop to the raſcality of our diſorderly thieves, and alſo as a check upon the ſavages, I had a block-houſe built in the neck of our Iſle, and kept by a garriſon, who regulated the trade with the ſavages, and none were allowed to paſs, either Chriſtian or native, without an order from me. We digged and planted ſome thirty or forty acres of land, and all went well with us. Yea, even our live ſtock increaſed to marvel, for our three ſows, in eighteen months, had come to number 60 odd pigs, and we had near 500 chickens, who gave us no trouble, but found their own living and brought themſelves up; but the hogs we tranſported to

* A laſt is a corn meaſure of ten quarters.

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Hog Iſland, where alſo we built a block-houſe, with a garriſon, whoſe duty it was to give us timely notice of any ſhipping, and their ſpare time was employed in making clap-board and wainſcot, and cutting down trees. We alſo built a fort for a retreat, near a convenient river upon a high commanding hill, very hard to be aſſaulted and eaſy to be defended, but ere it could be finiſhed, ſomething happened which cauſed the work to be ſtayed.

Which was none other than this. In going over our ſtores of caſked corn, we found it half rotten, and the reſt conſumed by thouſands of rats (which had ſo increaſed from thoſe left by the ſhip, that their numbers were incredible), that we knew not how to keep the little we had got left. This did drive us all to our wits' ends, for there was nothing in the country but what nature afforded. Until this time we had kept the two roguiſh Indians *Kemps* and *Tuſſore* as fettered priſoners, and made them do double taſks, and teach us how to order and plant our fields; but now, for want of victual, we were fain to ſet them at liberty, but, marvellous to ſay, they ſo liked our company, that they did not deſire to go from us. And the country people round about, to teſtify their love for us, did, for ſixteen days' continuance, bring us, at the very leaſt, 100 a day of ſquirrels, turkeys, deer, and other wild beaſts. But this want of corn put a

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ſtop to all our works, it being work enough to ſupply ourſelves with victual.

I ſent 60 or 80 men under Enſign *Laxon* down the river, to live upon oyſters, and twenty under Lieutenant *Percie* to try for fiſhing at *Point Comfort;* but they did no good, for in ſix weeks they did not once caſt out the net, for *Percie* was ſick, having been ſorely burnt by gunpowder. Maſter *Weſt* with twenty men went up to the Falls, but found nothing but a few acorns; whilſt of what we had in ſtore, every man had an equal ſhare. Till this preſent time, the Colony had been fed by the exertions of ſome thirty or forty of us; but now each man had to work hard to get victual. Fortunately we caught more ſturgeon than man or dog could devour, and the induſtrious amongſt us dried and pounded it, mixing it with caviar, and with ſorrel and other wholeſome herbs, ſo that it made a good food in the place of bread and meat.

Others would gather as much *Tockwogh* roots in a day as would make them bread to laſt a week. This root is the chief food of the ſavages, and it groweth like a flag in marſhy places. The roots are of the greatneſs and taſte of potatoes. And the manner the Indians prepare it for food is as follows. They cover a great many of them with oak leaves and fern, and then cover all with earth, after the manner of a coal pit; on this they burn a

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great fire for twenty-four hours before they dare eat it. Raw, it is no better than poiſon, and even if roaſted, except it be tender and thoroughly cooked, or ſliced and dried in the ſun, mixed with ſorrel and meal or ſuch like, it will prickle and torment the throat extremely, and yet in ſummer they uſe this ordinarily for bread. So that what with this proviſion, and the wild fruits we could obtain, and what we caught, we lived very well, having regard to ſuch a diet.

You would think that in ſuch a ſtate of things all would have turned to, with a will, to procure victual, but ſuch was the ſtrange condition of some 150 of our company, that had they not been forced, *nolens, volens,* to gather and prepare their victual, they would have all ſtarved, or have eaten one another. Yea, theſe diſtracted, gluttonous loiterers would, had I not have ſtopped it, and ſtrictly forbidden it, have ſold not only our kettles, hoes, tools, and iron, but ſwords, guns, and the very ordnance and houſes, if they could only have been fed and been idle. They would have given the ſavages all they had for the fruits they did bring in; eſpecially for one baſket of corn which they heard of as being at *Powhatan's*, fifty miles from our Fort. Though I bought near half of it to ſatisfy their humours, yet to have had the other half they would have ſold their ſouls, though it

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would not have been ſufficient to have kept them for a week. Perpetually were they worrying me, and thouſands were the ſuggeſtions and devices, to get me to abandon the country. I was conſtrained, through want, to endure their amazing follies, until I found out the author, one *Dyer*, a moſt crafty fellow, and my ancient maligner, whom I worthily puniſhed, and then I argued the caſe with the reſt in this manner:

"Fellow ſoldiers, I did little think any ſo falſe to report, or ſo many to be ſo ſimple to be perſuaded, that I either intend to ſtarve you, or that *Powhatan* at this preſent hath corn for himſelf, much leſs for you; or that I would not have it, if I knew where it was to be had. Neither did I think any ſo malicious, as I now ſee a great many; yet it ſhall not ſo paſſionate me, but that I will do my beſt for my worſt maligner. But dream no longer of this vain hope from *Powhatan*, not that I will longer forbear to force you, from your idleneſs, and puniſh you if you rail. But if I find any more runners for *Newfoundland* with the pinnace, let him aſſuredly look to arrive at the gallows. You cannot deny but that by the hazard of my life, many a time I have ſaved yours, when (if your own wills had prevailed) you would have ſtarved: and will do ſtill, whether I will or not; but I proteſt by that God that made me, ſince

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neceſſity hath not power to force you to gather for yourſelves, thoſe fruits the earth doth yield, you ſhall not only gather for yourſelves, but thoſe that are ſick. As I never yet had more from the ſtore than the worſt of you, and all my Engliſh extraordinary proviſion that I have, you ſhall ſee me divide among the ſick. And the rough food you ſo ſcornfully repine at, when it is put into your mouths, your ſtomachs can digeſt it; if you would have better you ſhould have brought it. Now, therefore, I will take a courſe by which you ſhall provide what is to be had. The ſick ſhall not ſtarve, but equally ſhare of all our labours; and he that gathereth not every day as much as I do, the next day ſhall be ſent beyond the river, and be baniſhed from the Fort as a drone, till he amend his conditions, or ſtarve."

Many murmured at this order as being very cruel, but it cauſed the greater part ſo well to beſtir themſelves, that of 200, which was the total number of us (except they were drowned), there died not over ſeven: for Captain *Winne* and Maſter *Leigh*, they were dead ere this want happened, and the reſt died not for want of that which preſerved the others. Many I billeted amongſt the ſavages, whereby we got the knowledge of all their paſſages, fields, and habitations, and how to gather and uſe their fruits as well as themſelves;

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for they did know we had ſuch a commanding power at *James Town* that they durſt not wrong us of a pin.

As a fact, thoſe poor ſavages that were thus billeted, uſed our men ſo well, that divers of our ſoldiers ran away to ſearch for *Kemps* and *Tuſſore*, our old priſoners. Glad were theſe ſavages to have ſuch an opportunity to teſtify their love unto us, for when they came unto them, inſtead of entertaining them, and ſuch things as they had ſtolen, with all their great offers, and promiſes to revenge their injuries upon me, *Kemps* firſt made himſelf ſport, by ſhowing his countrymen (in their perſons) how he was uſed, girding at them with this law, that thoſe who would not work muſt not eat, till they were near ſtarved to death, and, beſides, they continually threatened to beat them to death; neither could they get away from him, till that (he and his conſorts having ſufficiently ſported with them) they brought them perforce to me, which well contented me. I ſo puniſhed them, that many others who alſo intended to follow them, were rather contented to labour at home, than adventure to live idly among the ſavages (of whom there was more hope to make better Chriſtians, and good ſubjects, than the one half of thoſe that counterfeited themſelves both). For ſo afraid were all thoſe kings and the better ſort of the

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people to diſpleaſe us, that ſome of the baſer ſort that we have extremely hurt and puniſhed for their villanies, would beg of us that we ſhould not tell it to their kings or countrymen, who would alſo repuniſh them, and afterwards return them to *James Town*, to ſhow me the teſtimony of their love for us.

And now Maſter *Sicklemore*, whom you may remember I ſent on an expedition, returned from *Chawwonoke;* but found little hope and leſs certainty of them who were left by Sir *Walter Raleigh*. His report was that the river was not great, and the people but few, the country moſtly overgrown with pines, and here and there did grow ſtragglingly, *Pemminaco*, which we call ſilk graſs. But by the river the ground was good, and exceedingly fertile.

Maſter *Nathaniel Powell* and *Anas Todkill* went in ſearch of them, and were conducted to the *Mangoags* to ſearch for them there; but nothing could they learn, ſave that they were all dead. The King of the *Mangoags* was an honeſt, proper, promiſe-keeping king, and of all of them did ever beſt affect us; and though to his falſe gods he was very zealous, yet he would confeſs our God as much exceeded his, as our guns did his bows and arrows; and he would oft-times ſend me many preſents, begging of me to pray to my God for rain, or his

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corn would periſh, for that his own gods were angry. They conducted my embaſſage for three days through the woods, into a high country towards the ſouth-weſt, where they ſaw here and there a little cornfield, by ſome little ſpring or ſmall brook, but no river could they ſee. The people were in all reſpects like others, ſave in their language; they live moſtly upon roots, fruits, and wild beaſts, and trade with thoſe that live towards the ſea and in more fertile countries for dried fiſh and corn, whilſt they themſelves barter ſkins.

Now I never ceaſed in my endeavours to recover the ſcoundrel Dutchmen, and alſo one *Bentley*, another fugitive, and I thought I was doing well to that intent when I employed one *William Volday*, a *Switzer* by birth, as a go-between; empowering him to uſe promiſes of pardon, ſo that we might regain them. Little did we then ſuſpect this double-dyed villain of any treachery, but he plainly taught me the leſſon that oft-times where there was the moſt truſt, there was the greateſt treaſon; for this wicked hypocrite, who impoſed upon me by the ſeeming hate he bore to the lewd conditions of his curſed countrymen, took advantage of this opportunity of his employment to regain them to convey to them everything they deſired to effect their projects, which were to deſtroy the Colony; and they would have welcomed even the Spaniard

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with much devotion, or any other, and intended to do them good ſervice if they could only get rid of us.

They took full advantage of the firſt opportunity, for, ſeeing that neceſſity had compelled us to diſperſe ourſelves, they importuned *Powhatan* to lend them his forces, and they would not only deſtroy our hogs, fire our town, and betray our pinnace, but they would bring to his ſervice and ſubjection the greater part of our company. With this plot they had acquainted many of the diſcontented amongſt us, and many were agreed to join with them in their deviliſh enterpriſe. But there were thoſe of us whoſe Chriſtian hearts relented at ſuch un-Chriſtian acts, and *Thomas Douſe* and *Thomas Mallard* voluntarily revealed their plans to me. I cauſed them to conceal it, and perſuaded them to continue as if they joined in the plot, only ſo to manage things as to bring the irreclaimable Dutchmen and the ſavages in ſuch a manner among the ambuſcadoes I would prepare, that not many of them ſhould return from our peninſula.

But a rumour of this coming to the ears of the impatient multitude, they importuned me to deal ſtraitly with thoſe Dutchmen, and many amongſt them offered to go and cut their throats before *Powhatan's* face. Of theſe two were Lieutenant *Percie* and Maſter *John Cuderington*, two gentle-

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men of as bold, reſolute ſpirits as could poſſibly be found. However, I had occaſion of other employment for them, but I allowed Maſter *Wyffin* and Sergeant *Jeffrey Abbot* to go, and ſtab, or ſhoot them wherever they might be found. They departed, and found the villains with *Powhatan;* but they had ſuch oily tongues, and made ſuch plauſible excuſes, laying all the blame on *Volday*, whom they thought had betrayed them, that *Abbot* was convinced of their innocence, and would do nought againſt them, but *Wyffin* was willing, as he could perceive only deceit in them. The King underſtanding their miſſion, and why they had been ſent, preſently ſent meſſengers to me, to ſignify that it was not his fault, he neither detained them, nor hindered the two I had ſent from executing my commands; that he did not, nor would he, maintain them, or any one elſe, who gave occaſion to my diſpleaſure.

CHAPTER XX.

BUT whilſt this buſineſs was in hand there came a ſhip, commanded by one Captain *Argall*, ſent by Maſter *Cornelius* to trade with the Colony and fiſh for ſturgeon. This veſſel was well furniſhed with wine and much other good proviſions, and though this was not ſent to us for our uſe, ſave in the way

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of trade, our neceſſities were ſuch as enforced us to take it. *Argall* brought us news of a great ſupply, and preparation, being made for Lord *De la Warr*, together with letters taxing me with hard dealing with the ſavages, and not returning the ſhips freighted. We kept this ſhip till the fleet arrived, by which *Argall* loſt a voyage, but we re-victualled him and ſent him back to England, with a true relation of the cauſes of our ſhortcomings, and how impoſſible it was to return the wealth they expected, or obſerve their inſtructions as to enduring the inſolencies of the ſavages, or, indeed, to do anything to any purpoſe, except they would ſend us men and means by which we could produce that they ſo much deſired, otherwiſe all they did was loſt, and the whole could not but come to confuſion.

I diſſembled, and took no public note of the villany of *Volday*, and one of the Dutchmen named *Adam* returned and came home, relying on his promiſe of pardon, but *Samuel* ſtill ſtayed with *Powhatan*, thinking to hear ſome news he could avail himſelf of when that the fleet ſhould arrive. However, I knew all their plots, and cared not for them, for all ſurrounding people were friendly with me, and feared me more than *Powhatan*, and many of them, for the love they bore me, would have done anything I would have had them, had any commotion happened, though the fugitives had

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done all they could to perſuade *Powhatan* that King *James* would kill me for uſing him and his people ſo unkindly.

Not knowing the truth, and being led away by the falſe reports of the diſaffected, the Treaſurer, Council, and Company of *Virginia*, not finding that return and profit from their adventure that they expected, and that thoſe who were in the Colony, not having the means to ſubſiſt of themſelves, were but a drag on them, they moved his Majeſty to call in their commiſſion, and iſſue a new one. This was done; the old commiſſion was annihilated, and a new one was made in which Sir *Thomas Weſt*, Lord *De la Warr*, was to be General of *Virginia*, Sir *Thomas Gates*, his Lieutenant; Sir *George Somers*, Admiral; Sir *Thomas Dale*, High Marſhall; Sir *Ferdinando Wainman*, General of the Horſe; and other offices to many other worthy gentlemen, for their lives (though not any of them had ever been in *Virginia* excepting Captain *Newport*, who was alſo by Patent made Vice-Admiral). Theſe noble gentlemen brought in ſuch great ſums of money that they ſent Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, and Captain *Newport*, with nine ſhips, and five hundred men. Each of theſe captains carried a copy of this new commiſſion, to the intent that whoſoever ſhould firſt arrive, ſhould call in the old, without the knowledge or conſent of thoſe

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who had borne all the brunt of the work, and prepared the way for them; and, indeed, no regard whatever was paid to us.

All things were ready, and the ſhips ſet ſail from *England* in May, 1609. But, curiouſly enough, thoſe three captains quarrelled for place and precedency, ſo that to end the matter, they concluded that they ſhould all go in one ſhip, which was called the *Sea Venture*. A hurricane came on, in which a ſmall Catch periſhed, and the *Sea Venture*, with an hundred and fifty men, the three captains, and their new commiſſions, their bills of lading, with all manner of directions, and the moſt part of their proviſions on board, was a miſſing. But ſeven ſhips arrived ſafely, and amongſt them that they brought, were my old friends *Ratliffe* (whoſe true name was *Sicklemore*), *Martin*, and *Archer*, beſides many worthy gentlemen of good means and great parentage. Theſe three, however, as you may well imagine, bore me no love. I had ſent them to *England*, and, as they were now returning, they made uſe of the voyage to poiſon all men's minds againſt me, ſo that the moſt part mortally hated me, ere ever they ſaw me.

My ſcouts having informed me of this fleet being in ſight, I, little dreaming of any ſuch ſupply, ſuppoſed them to be Spaniards, and I ſoon ſo put things in order, that I little feared their arrival, nor

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the ſucceſs of our encounter; nay, even the ſavages were not negligent, on their parts, to aid and aſſiſt us to the beſt of their power. Had it have been the Spaniard, it would have been better for us all, for we ſhould not have truſted him, but treated him as a foe; whereas, when we found out who they were, we received them as friends and countrymen, which they repaid by doing all in their power to murder me, ſurpriſe the ſtore, the Fort, and our lodgings, to uſurp the government, and make us all their ſervants and ſlaves. To a thouſand miſchiefs did thoſe three, *Ratliffe*, *Martin*, and *Archer*, lead this lewd company, wherein were many unruly gallants, packed thither by their friends to eſcape ill deſtinies, and thoſe would diſpoſe and determine of the government, ſometimes to one, the next day to another; to-day the old commiſſion muſt rule, to-morrow the new, the next day neither; in fine, they would rule all, or ruin all. Happy had we been had they never arrived, and we for ever abandoned, and, as it were, left to our fortunes; for on earth, taking the number of us, was never more confuſion, or miſery, than their factions occaſioned.

Now I, ſeeing the deſire that theſe bravos had to rule, and how my authority was ſo unexpectedly changed, would willingly have left all and have returned to *England:* but, ſeeing alſo that there was

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ſmall hope that this new commiſſion would arrive, (for there had been a hurricane ſuch as ſeldom hath been ſeen) I would no longer ſuffer theſe factious ſpirits to have things their own way. It would be tedious for you to hear of the infinite dangers, plots, and practices I daily eſcaped among this unruly crew, but this I will ſay, that I took ſuch order, as quickly laid the chief of them by the heels, till my leiſure better ſerved to do them juſtice. Maſter *Percie*, being very ſick, had his requeſt granted to return to *England*; I ſent *Weſt*, with a hundred and twenty of the beſt he could chooſe, to the Falls, at the top of our river, there to ſettle, and *Martin* with near as many to *Nandſamund*, which was on the oppoſite ſide of the river, and both companies had their due proportion of all proviſions according to their numbers.

Before they went, however, my year as Preſident being near expired, I made Captain *Martin* Preſident, in order to follow the order by which a Preſident ſhould be elected every year. But he, being fully aware of his own inſufficiency to fill that poſt, and knowing full well the untowardneſs of the company, and their little regard for him, within three hours afterwards reſigned it to me, and I took up the weary burden once more, only becauſe I felt that there was no one elſe with ſo ſtrong a hand, which was needful, nor with ſo good a knowledge

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of the ſavages and their ways; and ſo *Martin* went on his way to *Nandſamund.*

But he managed things there very badly; the people there being friendly to us, and having to give us a certain quantity of corn yearly as a contribution, uſed him kindly; yet ſuch was his fooliſh, jealous fear, that in the midſt of their rejoicing and mirth, he did ſurpriſe this poor naked king, with his monuments, houſes, and the iſle he inhabited, and there fortified himſelf. Yet, being but a poor, weak creature, and ſhowing ſo openly that he was diſtracted with fear, he emboldened the ſavages to aſſault him, kill his men, releaſe their king, and gather and carry away a thouſand buſhels of corn, he not offering once to interrupt them; but, inſtead, ſent whining to me (who was then at the Falls) for thirty good ſhots, which were immediately ſent him from *James Town.* And when he had them, he ſo well employed them that they did juſt nothing, but returned again, complaining bitterly of his tenderneſs: and he came away with them to *James Town,* leaving his company to their fortunes.

Yet the men he had with him were of good ſtuff, for I may tell you as an inſtance, that one, *George Forreſt,* who was a man of great courage, and had fought well, had ſeventeen arrows ſticking into him, and one ſhot through him, yet lived he ſix or ſeven

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days, as if he had ſmall hurt, but then, ſad to tell, for want of chirurgery he died.

CHAPTER XXI.

I TOLD you how that I ſent Maſter *Weſt* up to the Falls, there to found a ſettlement; he did ſo, and preſently returned to *James Town*. I had my miſgivings, and quickly followed him, after his firſt ſtart, to ſee how the company fared, and, on my way thither, I met him, which made me wonder at his ſo quick return. I went on, and found his company planted moſt inconſiderately, in a place not only ſubject to the river's inundation, but all round environed with many intolerable inconveniences. For remedy whereof, I preſently ſent to *Powhatan* to ſell me the place called *Powhatan*, promiſing to defend him againſt the *Monacans*. And I offered him theſe conditions, that he and his people ſhould reſign me the Fort and houſes, and all that country for a proportion of copper; that all ſtealing offenders ſhould be ſent to me to receive their puniſhment; that every houſe ſhould pay as a cuſtom a buſhel of corn for an inch ſquare of copper, and a certain quantity of *Pocones** as a yearly tribute to

* Pocones is a ſmall root which groweth in the mountains, which, being dried and beat in powder, turneth red. And

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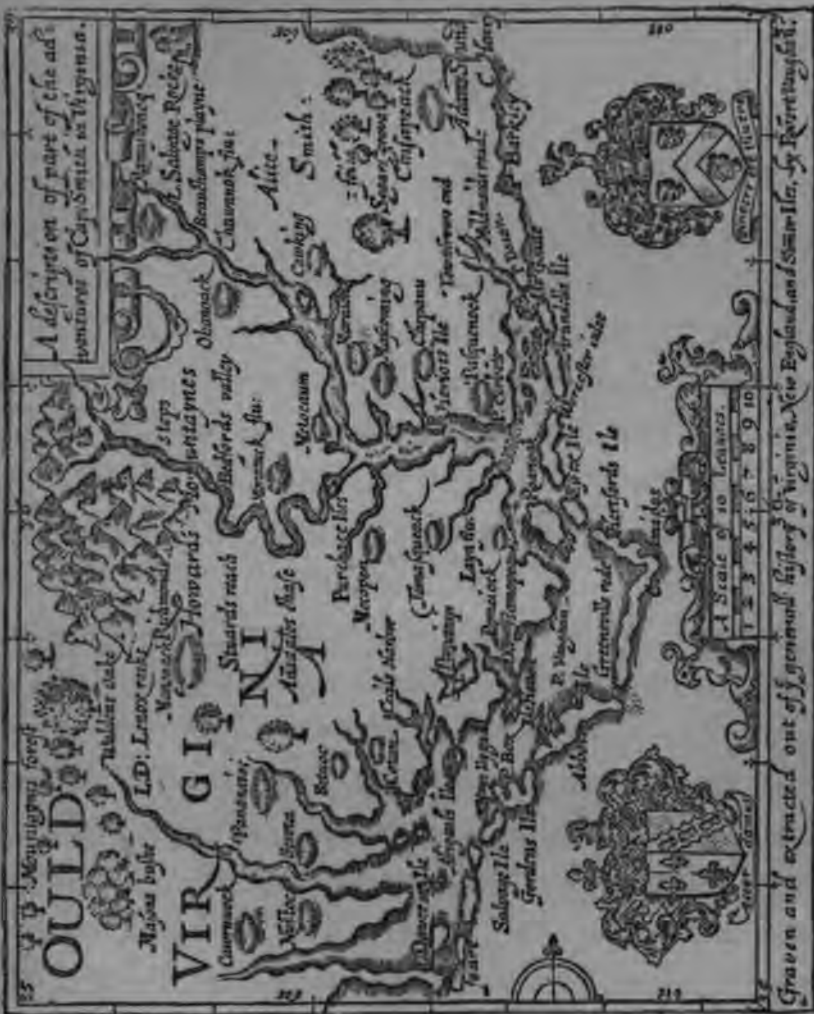
King *James* for their protection as a duty; and what other commodities they could ſpare, they were to barter at their beſt diſcretion.



Can you imagine that thoſe furies refuſed both this excellent place, and theſe good conditions! Not

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this they uſe for ſwellings, aches, anointing their joints, and painting their heads and garments. They account it very precious and of much worth.

only did they ſo, but they contemned me, my kind care, and my authority. They thought ſo much of the Lord General's new commiſſion, that they regarded no one. They ſuppoſed all the *Monacans'* country to be full of gold, and made out that none ſhould come there but whom they pleaſed. I do now wonder to think how that I, with only five men, durſt adventure among them as I did, (knowing how greedy they were of my blood), or to land among them, and impriſon the chief leaders of theſe mutinies; but their number, being an hundred and twenty, forced me to retire. Yet, in the interim, I ſurpriſed one of their boats, wherewith I returned to their ſhip, where was their proviſion, which I alſo took; and well it chanced that I found the mariners ſo tractable and conſtant, elſe there had been ſmall poſſibility that I ever eſcaped.

But their conduct muſt not be taken as that of the whole company, for there were many among them who perceived the malice of *Ratliffe* and *Archer* and their faction, and would not conſort with them, but ever reſted my faithful friends. The worſt was that thoſe poor ſouls, the ſavages, who daily brought their contribution to me, were ſo tormented by that diſorderly company, who ſtole their corn, robbed their gardens, beat them, broke into their houſes, and made ſome of them priſoners, that they daily complained to me that I had

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brought them as protectors, men worſe than the *Monacans* themſelves; and they added that for love of me they had till then endured it, yet they deſired my pardon, if, hereafter, they defended themſelves, ſince I did not correct them, as they expected I ſhould have done. Indeed, they importuned me ſo much to puniſh their miſdemeanours, and were ſo ready to help, that they offered, if I would but lead them, to fight for me againſt them; but this, of courſe, I could not ſuffer. I liked not to leave them as they were, looking upon them as my charge, even if they were froward, ſo I ſpent nine days trying to reclaim them, ſhowing them the folly of their dreams, and gilded hopes of *South Sea* mines, advantageous trading, and eaſy victories, which they had ſo madly conceived; but then, ſeeing I could nothing prevail, I ſet ſail for *James Town.*

Now, no ſooner was the ſhip under ſail, and ſcarcely out of ſight, than a little band, of but twelve ſavages, aſſaulted thoſe hundred and twenty valiant boaſters in their Fort, and, finding ſome ſtraggling in the woods, they ſlew many, and ſo affrighted the reſt that their priſoners eſcaped, and they ſafely retired with the ſwords and cloaks of thoſe they had ſlain. By a lucky chance, as it happed, we had not ſailed but half a league when our ſhip grounded, and this gave us another chance

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of ſummoning them to a parley; and we found them all ſo ſtrangely amazed with this poor ſilly aſſault of twelve ſavages that they ſubmitted themſelves upon any terms to my mercy. When they had thus humbled themſelves, I took action to prevent ſuch happening again, and preſently put by the heels ſix or ſeven of the chief offenders. The reſt I took to *Powhatan*, and there eſtabliſhed them right gallantly, for they had a Fort ready built, prettily fortified with poles and bark of trees, ſufficient to have defended them from all the ſavages in *Virginia*. There were dry houſes for lodging, and near two hundred acres of ground cleared, and ready to be planted, and truly none of us know of any place in *Virginia* ſo delightful, ſo ſtrong, or ſo pleaſant; ſo much ſo, indeed, that we called it *Non Such*. Then, as I would not leave them at enmity, I appeaſed the ſavages, and each party gave back what had been taken from the other; ſo that all were friends.

I had appointed new officers in command, and was again ready to depart, when at that inſtant Captain *Weſt* arrived, and thoſe men, whoſe ſubmiſſion to me had lately been ſo humble, now began once more to ſtrut and fume, and ſo worked upon his gentle nature that new turmoils aroſe. For now that they were maſters once more of all their victual, munition, and other things, their factions grew to

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ſuch a height that I fairly gave them over to their own devices, and left them to their fortunes, when the fools at once abandoned *Non Such* and returned again to the open air, at *Weſt's Fort*. Sick at heart, and hopeleſs of doing any good with ſuch wrong-headed aſſes, I left for *James Town*, and what happened to me on that journey ſhall I never forget.

I was quietly ſleeping in the boat (for the ſhip had returned two days before), when either by accident, or maliciouſly of purpoſe (which I know not, nor will preſume to judge, but the good God, He knows), ſomeone fired my powder pouch, which tore the fleſh from my body and thighs, nine or ten inches ſquare, in a moſt pitiful manner. Awakened from my ſleep in this rude way, being dazed and yet in intolerable agony, to quench the tormenting fire, which was frying me in my clothes, I leaped overboard into the deep river, where I was near drowned ere they could recover me. It was a very grievous wound, and I was in the ſoreſt pain, yet in this eſtate, without either chirurgeon or chirurgery, I had to go near a hundred miles.

When I arrived at *James Town* I cauſed all things to be prepared, either for peace or war, in order to obtain proviſion, and whilſt theſe things were providing, I ſettled that *Ratliffe*, *Archer*, and the reſt of their confederates, ſhould come to their trials.

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But their guilty conſciences fearing a juſt reward for their deſerts, and ſeeing me unable to ſtand, and nigh bereft of my ſenſes by reaſon of the torment of my pain, the villains plotted to have me murdered in my bed. But God ſo protected me, that the heart of him that ſhould have given fire to that mercileſs piſtol (I will not give his name, for I have forgiven him the injury he would have done me), did fail him at the laſt moment, and he could not do the treacherous deed. They, finding themſelves thwarted in this their villanous deſign, did join together to uſurp the government, thinking thereby to eſcape their puniſhment.

I had notice of their projects, and my old ſoldiers, my truſty friends, who had ſtood by me in many an evil caſe, importuned me to let them cut off the heads of thoſe that would reſiſt my command, yet would I not ſuffer them. Fierce pain, and conſtant worry and anxiety, had conquered me, and I made up my mind to leave the place altogether: ſo I ſent for the maſters of the ſhips, and took order with them for my return to England. What elſe could I do? There was neither chirurgeon nor chirurgery in the Fort of ſkill or effect enough to cure my hurt, and, as the ſhips were to depart next day, the opportunity was not to be miſſed. My commiſſion as Preſident was to be

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ſuppreſſed, I knew not why, my ſoldiers and myſelf to be rewarded I knew not how, and a new commiſſion (which diſabled the authority I had, and made them preſume ſo oft in their mutinies as they did) granted, I knew not to whom. Beſides which, ſo grievous were my wounds, and ſo cruel were my torments, ſo that few expected I could live, that I was unable to follow my buſineſs, and regain what we had loſt, ſuppreſs the factions, and range the countries for proviſions as I intended.

However, I went about trying to find ſome one whom I could truſt, to fill my place, but I could find none I thought fit, who would accept the poſt. In the meantime, ſeeing me going, they prevailed on Maſter *Percie*, who was then ready to go to *England*, to ſtop with them and be their Preſident. Within leſs than an hour this change had begun, and ended, and the new Preſident and Councillors were already beginning to be fawned upon—but I gave not up my commiſſion. Had I not been ſo grievouſly wounded by that unhappy blaſt, I would quickly have qualified the heat of thoſe humours and factions, had the ſhips once left them and us to our fortunes, and I would have made that proviſion from among the ſavages, that we ſhould have feared neither Spaniard, ſavage, nor famine. But boaſting is unmanly, and unſeemly. I will ſay no more of my own deeds, but I think it may

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be lawful for me to read you what one who knew me well, worthy Maſter *Richard Pots*, Clerk of the Council, wrote concerning me, and to which I can refer with no little pride, as it is the honeſt expreſſion of one who knew well about all the things whereof he wrote. He ſaith, ſpeaking of me: "What ſhall I ſay but thus, we left him, that in all his proceedings made Juſtice his firſt guide, and experience his ſecond, ever hating baſeneſſe, ſloath, pride, and indignitie, more than any dangers; that never allowed more for himſelfe, than his ſouldiers with him; that upon no danger would ſend them where he would not lead them himſelfe; that would never ſee us want, what he either had, or could by any meanes get us; that would rather want than borrow, and ſtarve than not pay; that loved action more than words, and hated falſhood and covetouſneſſe worſe than death; whoſe adventures were our lives, and whoſe loſſe our deaths."

It was in the autumn of the year of grace 1609 that I was carried on board ſhip, and ſailed from *Virginia*, which it ſeems fated I ſhall never again behold. The day before I ſailed, there arrived Captain *Davis* in a ſmall pinnace, with ſixteen proper men more. And this is how I left them. They had three ſhips, ſeven boats, commodities ready to trade with, the harveſt newly gathered, ten weeks' proviſion in the ſtore, four hundred,

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ninety and odd perſons, twenty pieces of ordnance, three hundred muſkets, ſnaphaunces and firelocks; ſhot, powder, and match ſufficient, pikes, ſwords, and morions more than men. The language and habitations of the ſavages well known to an hundred well trained and expert ſoldiers; nets for fiſhing, tools of all ſorts for work, apparel for their wants, ſix mares and a horſe, five or ſix hundred ſwine, as many hens and chickens, ſome goats, ſome ſheep. Yet it came to paſs that as ſoon as I had left them, they regarded nothing but from hand to mouth, and did conſume all they had; nay, they took care for nothing but to perfect ſome colourable complaints againſt me; to perfect which they even delayed the return of the ſhips for three weeks.

Beſides all this I left *James Town* ſtrongly paliſadoed, and it contained ſome fifty or ſixty houſes, beſides which, I left five or ſix other forts and plantations, which, although they were not ſo ſumptuous as the new arrivals expected, they were better than we had at our firſt coming. All that time we had but one carpenter in the country, and three others that could do but little, but deſired to be learners; two ſailors, two blackſmiths, and thoſe I have called labourers were for the moſt part footmen, and ſuch as the adventurers had brought out to attend upon them, or ſuch as they could perſuade to go with them; that never did know what a

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day's work was, except the Dutchmen, Poles, and ſome dozen others. For all the reſt were poor gentlemen, tradeſmen, ſerving men, libertines, and ſuch like, ten times more fit to ſpoil a commonwealth, than either begin one or help to maintain one. For when neither the fear of God, or law, ſhame, nor the diſpleaſure of their friends could rule them at home, there was ſmall hope ever to bring one in twenty to be good when thoſe reſtrictions were removed. Notwithſtanding, I confeſs that divers amongſt them had better minds, and grew much more induſtrious than was expected; yet ten good workmen would have done more ſubſtantial work in a day than ten of them in a week.

And now let us ſee how they fared after my departure, and to that end I will read you what hath ſaid the worthy Doctor *Sims:* "The company from *James Town*, under the command of Captaine *John Sickelmore*, alias *Ratliffe*, went to inhabit *Point Comfort*. Captaine *Martin* and Captaine *Weſt*, having loſt their boats and neere halfe their men among the Salvages, were returned to *James Town;* for the Salvages no ſooner underſtood *Smith* was gone, but they all revolted, and did ſpoile and murther all they incountered. Now, wee were all conſtrained to live onely on that *Smith* had left for his owne Companie, for the reſt had

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conſumed their proportions, and now they had twentie Preſidents with all their appurtenances: Maſter *Piercie*, our new Preſident, was ſo ſicke, hee could neither goe nor ſtand.

" But ere all was conſumed, Captaine *Weſt* and Captaine *Sickelmore*, each with a ſmall ſhip and thirtie or fortie men well appointed, ſought abroad to trade. *Sickelmore*, upon the confidence of *Powhatan*, with about thirtie others as careleſſe as himſelfe, were all ſlaine, onely *Jeffrey Shortridge* eſcaped, and *Pokahontas*, the King's daughter, ſaved a boy called *Henry Spilman*, that lived many yeeres after, by her meanes, amongſt the *Patawomekes*. *Powhatan* ſtill as he found meanes, cut off their Boats, denied them trade, ſo that Captaine *Weſt* ſet ſaile for *England*.

" Now we all found the loſſe of Captaine *Smith*, yea, his greateſt maligners could now curſe his loſſe; as for Corne, proviſion and contribution from the Salvages, we had nothing but mortall wounds, with clubs and arrowes, as for our Hogs, Hens, Goats, Sheepe, Horſe, or what lived, our commanders, officers and Salvages daily conſumed them; ſome ſmall proportions ſometimes we taſted, till all was devoured; then ſwords, armes, pieces, or anything, wee traded with the Salvages, whoſe cruell fingers were ſo oft imbrewed in our blouds, that what by their crueltie, our Governours indiſcretion,

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and the loſſe of our ſhips, of five hundred within ſix moneths after Captaine *Smith's* departure, there remained not paſt ſixtie men, women, and children, moſt miſerable and poor creatures, and thoſe were preſerved for the moſt part, by roots, herbes, acornes, walnuts, berries, now and then a little fiſh: they that had ſtarch in theſe extremities made no ſmall uſe of it; yea, even the very ſkinnes of our horſes.

"Nay, ſo great was our famine, that a Salvage we ſlew, and buried, the poorer ſort took him up againe and eat him, and ſo did divers one another, boyled and ſtewed with roots and herbs; and one among the reſt did kill his wife, powdered* her, and had eaten part of her before it was known, for which hee was executed, as hee well deſerved; now whether ſhee was better roaſted, boyled or carbonado'd, I know not, but of ſuch a diſh as powdered wife I never heard of. This was that time, which ſtill to this day we called the ſtarving time; it were too vile to ſay, and ſcarce to be beleeved, what we endured; but the occaſion was our owne, for want of providence, induſtrie, and government, and not the barrenneſſe and defect of the countrie."

This, methinks, ſhould prove a ſufficient anſwer

* Salted.

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to thoſe, my maligners, who aver that I ruled them with a rod of iron, and was the cauſe of all their miſeries.

And now, before I quit me of this part of my life, let me tell you of the juſtice of God upon thoſe villain Dutchmen. *Valdo* the *Switzer*, of whom I have told you before as being an arch traitor, made a ſhift to get to *England*, where, perſuading the merchants that he had diſcovered rich mines, and how he would do them great ſervices, was very well rewarded, and returned with my Lord *De la Warr*, who arrived at *Virginia* on the 9th of June, 1610. He was ſoon found out to be an impoſtor, there being, of courſe, no mines, ſo no one would have aught to do with him, and he periſhed miſerably. His two conſorts and boſom friends, *Adams* and *Francis*, fled again to *Powhatan*, to whom they promiſed what wonders they would do on the arrival of my Lord *De la Warr*, would he but ſuffer them to go to him. But the King, ſeeing they would be gone, replied, "You that would have betrayed Captain *Smith* to me, will certainly betray me to this great Lord, in order to make your peace;" and ſo he cauſed his men to beat out their brains.

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CHAPTER XXII.

WHAT pains and tortures I ſuffered from my wound during the paſſage to *England* no man can conceive, and I was very long in recovering my health, even with the aid of the moſt experienced chirurgeons and phyſicians. I had ſore need of reſt after my arrival, for beſides that my life, all through, had been a buſy and a ſtirring one, the hardſhips and anxieties of the laſt two years had told upon me more than aught previouſly; ſo that I looked for and enjoyed my reſt. But I ſtill took a keen intereſt in all the news I could hear pertaining to *Virginia*, which, however, I will not tell you now, as it belongeth not to mine own perſonal adventures, but I may not fail to tell you of what I heard of that *nonpareil* of *Virginia*, my very good and dear friend, *Pocahontas*. After my departure, faith was not kept with *Powhatan* as I had done, and he was at enmity with the coloniſts, and had ſome in captivity. *Pocahontas* had now little influence with him, and had never been to *James Town* ſince I left, but was living at *Patawomeke* with a friend named *Iapazaws* and his wife, thinking herſelf there unknown.

That rough old ſea dog, Captain *Argall*, was then (1612) with his ſhip in the Colony, and he

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was ſent to the river *Patawomeke* to trade for corn, and he entered into a great acquaintance with *Iapazaws*, who was an old friend of mine, and indeed of all our nation ever ſince we had diſcovered the country. Now Captain *Argall*, finding from this Chief that *Pocahontas* was there, deviſed a notable ſcheme to poſſeſs himſelf of her, and holding her as hoſtage, till that *Powhatan* ſhould return the men he had in captivity, and reſtore the guns, &c., he had ſtolen. In order to effect his deſign, he worked on the avarice of *Iapazaws*, and promiſed him a copper kettle, if he could but bring her on board, aſſuring him that he would in no wiſe hurt her, but only keep her till they could conclude a peace with her father.

What ſavage could have withſtood ſuch a bribe; he would have ſold his very ſelf for it, and the crafty *Iapazaws* played his part right cunningly. Although his wife had ſeen and been in many ſhips, yet he cauſed her to feign a great deſire to ſee one, and by his inſtructions ſhe did ſo importune him, that he threatened to beat her for her importunity, at which ſhe wept bitterly. But at laſt he told her, if *Pocahontas* would go with her, he was content; and thus did they betray my poor innocent maid on board the big canoe. *Argall* feaſted them all very kindly in the cabin; *Iapazaws* oft-times treading on his foot to remind him that he

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had done his part. When the Captain ſaw his time, he perſuaded *Pocahontas* to go into the gun-room, feigning that he wanted to ſpeak alone with *Iapazaws*, which was only that ſhe ſhould not perceive that he was in any way guilty of her captivity. After a while he ſent for her again, and told her before her friends that he muſt keep her priſoner for awhile, and that ſhe muſt go with him, and help to compound peace betwixt her country and the coloniſts, and then, and not till then, ſhe ſhould ſee *Powhatan*. *Iapazaws* and his wife played their parts to admiration, beginning to howl and cry as faſt as *Pocahontas* did; but, at laſt, the Captain's fair perſuaſions pacified her; *Iapazaws*, with his wife, copper kettle, and other toys, went merrily on ſhore, and my little maid was carried to *James Town*. A meſſenger was forthwith ſent to her father, telling him how they had got poſſeſſion of his daughter, *Pocahontas*, whom he loved ſo dearly, and that if he wanted her again he muſt ranſome her with the men, ſwords, pieces, tools, &c., he had ſo treacherouſly ſtolen.

Now this was but unwelcome news to *Powhatan*, becauſe he loved both his daughter and our commodities well, and it was a hard matter for him to chooſe between them; ſo that it was not till three months after, that he returned any anſwer, and then, by perſuaſion of his Council, he

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ſent back ſeven men, but he took great care that each bare with him an unſerviceable muſket; and by them he ſent word that when his daughter was delivered to him, he would make ſatisfaction for all injuries done, give five hundred buſhels of corn, and be for ever friends. That which he ſent was received in part payment, but they at *James Town* well knew this crafty old fox, and returned anſwer that his daughter ſhould be well uſed, but that they could not believe that the reſt of the arms were either loſt or ſtolen from him, and, therefore, until he ſent them, his daughter would be kept.

This anſwer, it ſeemed, much diſpleaſed him, for no more was heard from him for a long time after. At length, when the coloniſts had ſome leiſure to attend to ſuch matters, Sir *Thomas Dale*, with one hundred and fifty men, embarked in Captain *Argall's* ſhip, and ſome other veſſels belonging to the colony, and went up his own river, to his chief habitation, having with them *Pocahontas*, his daughter. The ſavages received them with many ſcornful bravados, proudly demanding why they were come thither; the reply was, they had brought *Powhatan's* daughter, and to receive the ranſom for her that was promiſed, or elſe they would have it perforce. Nothing diſmayed at this, the Indians anſwered

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that if they came to fight, they were welcome, for they were provided for them, but adviſed them, if they loved their lives, to retire, elſe they ſhould be ſerved as they had done Captain *Ratliffe.* The coloniſts replied they would preſently have a better anſwer, but they were no ſooner within ſhot of the ſhore, than the ſavages welcomed them with a flight of arrows.

Being thus juſtly provoked, they manned the boats, and a party went on ſhore, who burned all their houſes, and took from them everything they could find. The next day they went higher up the river, when the inhabitants aſked why their houſes had been burned; the reply to which was another queſtion, why had they been ſhot at? They answered it was ſome ſtraggling ſavages, and made many other excuſes that they intended no hurt, but were friends, on which the Engliſhmen told them they came not to hurt, but to viſit them as friends alſo.

Upon this a peace was concluded, and, forthwith, meſſengers were deſpatched to *Powhatan,* whoſe anſwer, as they ſaid, could not be expected for four and twenty hours, for it would take that time for the meſſengers to go and return. They alſo ſaid that the Engliſhmen they had, were run away, for fear that they ſhould be hanged, but that *Powhatan's* men had run after them; as for

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the ſwords and pieces, they ſhould be brought next day, but this was only an excuſe to gain time, for the next day they came not.

So they went higher up the river, to a houſe of *Powhatan's*, named *Matchot*, where they ſaw about four hundred men, well appointed, who dared them to land, a challenge which was at once accepted. The ſavages ſhowed no ſign of fear at all, nor offered to reſiſt the landing, but walking boldly up and down, demanded to confer with the Captain, to find out his reaſon for coming in that manner, and to have truce till they could but once more ſend to their King to know his pleaſure; which, if it was not agreeable, they would cheerfully fight, and defend their own as beſt they could. But this was only to defer the time, in order that they might carry away their proviſions; ſtill, it ſuited the coloniſts to pretend to believe it, and they promiſed a truce till the next day at noon, when, if fighting was to be done, due notice of it ſhould be given by the noiſe of drums and trumpets.

Upon this promiſe, two of *Powhatan's* ſons came to viſit their ſiſter, and at ſight of her, finding her well, (for they had heard to the contrary), they much rejoiced, and promiſed they would perſuade her father to redeem her, and for ever be friends with the Engliſh. And theſe two

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brethren came on board, and ſtayed there, whilſt Maſter *John Rolfe* and Maſter *Sparkes* went to *Powhatan* to acquaint him of the buſineſs. Kindly were they entertained, but not admitted to the preſence of *Powhatan;* but they ſpake with *Opechancanough*, his brother and ſucceſſor. He promiſed to do all he could with *Powhatan*, and thought all would be well. So it being April, and time to prepare the ground and ſet the corn, the expedition returned to *James Town*, promiſing to wait for the performance of their arrangement till the next harveſt.

But *Pocahontas* was never thus redeemed, for ſhe had fallen into a gentler bondage, and yet one that was harder to break. Long before this, Maſter *John Rolfe*, of whom I have but juſt ſpoken, an honeſt gentleman, and of good behaviour, had been in love with *Pocahontas*, and ſhe with him, which thing at that inſtant he made known to Sir *Thomas Dale*, in a letter, wherein he intreated his advice, and *Pocahontas* acquainted her brother with it, which reſolution Sir *Thomas Dale* well approved. The noiſe of this marriage ſoon came to the knowledge of *Powhatan*, and it ſeems to have been a thing acceptable to him, as appears by his ſudden conſent, for within ten days he ſent *Opachiſco*, an old uncle of hers, and two of his ſons, to ſee the manner of the marriage, and to do

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in that behalf what they were requeſted, for the confirmation thereof, as his deputy. And married they were, about the firſt of April, 1613, *Pocahontas* having been converted to Chriſtianity, and baptized under the name of the Lady *Rebecca.*

And ever ſince that time there hath been friendly trade and commerce, as well with *Powhatan* himſelf, as all his ſubjects.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ALTHOUGH I reſted, I was not idle, for I helped Maſter *William Simons* in his work entitled, "A Map of *Virginia.*" But it was not for an old rover like me to lie abed when there was man's work to be done, ſo that after a time, and my wound was whole, which took long, I looked around me for freſh adventures, which in thoſe days were not long a coming to thoſe who looked out for them. Now you may remember that in the Letters Patent granted by his Majeſty in 1606 for the limitation of *Virginia*, did extend from 34 to 45 degrees, which was divided into two parts, namely, the firſt colony, and the ſecond. The firſt was to the honourable City of *London*, and ſuch as would adventure with them to diſcover and

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take their choice where they would, betwixt the degrees of 34 and 41.

The ſecond was appropriated to the cities of *Briſtol*, *Exeter*, and *Plymouth*, &c., and the Weſt parts of *England*, and all thoſe that would adventure and join with them, and they might make their choice anywhere betwixt the degrees of 38 and 45, provided there ſhould be at leaſt an hundred miles' diſtance between theſe two Colonies, each of which had laws, privileges, and authority, for the government and advancing their ſeveral plantations alike. Now this part of *America* hath formerly been called *Norumbega*, *Virginia*, *Nuſkoncus*, *Penaquida*, *Cannada*, and ſuch other names as thoſe that ranged the coaſt pleaſed.

But, becauſe it was ſo mountainous, rocky, and full of iſles, few have adventured much to trouble it; notwithſtanding, that honourable patron of virtue, Sir *John Popham*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England* in the year 1606, procured means and men to poſſeſs it, and ſent Captain *George Popham* as Preſident, Captain *Rawley Gilbert* as Admiral, Captain *Edward Harlow*, Maſter of the Ordnance, Captain *Robert Davis*, Sergeant-Major, Captain *Elis Beſt*, Marſhall, Maſter *Seaman*, Secretary, Captain *James Davis* to be Captain of the fort, and Maſter *Gomez Carew*, Chief Searcher. All theſe were of the Council, who, with ſome hundred

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more, were to ſtay in the country; they ſet ſail from *Plymouth* the laſt day of May, 1606, and came to *Monahigan* on the 11th of Auguſt. At *Sagadahock*, nine or ten leagues ſouthward, they planted themſelves at the mouth of a fair navigable river, but the coaſt all thereabouts was moſt extremely ſtony and rocky; and that very ſevere frozen winter was ſo cold, they could not range, nor ſearch the country. Their proviſion was ſo ſmall, that they were glad to ſend all but 45 of their company back again; their noble Preſident, Captain *Popham*, died, and not long after arrived two ſhips well provided with all neceſſaries to ſupply them, and another came ſome ſmall time after, by whom they learned the death of the Lord Chief Juſtice, and alſo of Sir *John Gilbert*, whoſe lands there, the Preſident, *Rawley Gilbert*, was to poſſeſs, according to the adventurers' directions; but the colony regarding their continuance there as hopeleſs, they all returned to *England* in the year 1608: and thus the plantation was begun, and ended, in little more than a year.

Captain *Harlow* went out again to diſcover an Iſle, ſuppoſed to be near unto *Cape Cod*, but he found it not, ſo he returned, bringing ſome ſavages with him. Sir *Francis Popham* ſent one Captain *Williams* divers times to *Monahigan* only to trade and bring home fiſh, but of plantations was no

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more heard. For all this, as I liked *Virginia* well, though not their proceedings, ſo I deſired alſo to ſee this country, and ſpend ſome time in trying what I could find out as a reaſon for all theſe evil rumours and diſaſters.

So I made advances to them, which were accepted, and in the month of April, 1614, I made my firſt voyage to *New England*. The expedition was undertaken at the charge of Captain *Marmaduke Roydon*, Captain *George Langam*, Maſter *John Buley*, and Maſter *William Skelton*, with two ſhips from *London*, and I chanced to arrive at *Monahigan*, an iſle of *America*, in 43′ 4″ of northerly latitude. Our idea was there to take whales, for which intent we had on board one *Samuel Crampton*, and others expert in that faculty, and alſo to try and find a mine of gold or copper; if theſe failed, then were we to fall back upon fiſh and furs to make our adventure pay. We found this whale-fiſhing a coſtly concluſion; we ſaw many of them, and ſpent much time in chaſing them, but could not kill any; they being a kind of *Jubartes*, and not the whale that yields fins and oil, which we expected.

As for the gold, that was all a device of our Maſter's, ſo that he might get a voyage, to which end he projected it, for truly he had no knowledge of ſuch matters. So we had to fall back upon fiſh

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and fur, and the prime of both thoſe ſeaſons were paſt, by reaſon of our late arrival, and long lingering after whales. In our ignorance, we thought their ſeaſons ſerved at all times, but we found it otherwiſe, for by the midſt of *June* the fiſhing failed, yet in *July* and *Auguſt* ſome were taken, but not ſufficient to defray ſo great a charge as our ſtay required: of dried fiſh we made about forty thouſand, and of cured fiſh about ſeven thouſand. Whilſt the ſailors fiſhed, I, and eight others who could beſt be ſpared, ranged the coaſt in a ſmall boat, and we got for trifles near eleven thouſand beaver ſkins, one hundred marten's, and as many otter's; the moſt of which we obtained within the diſtance of twenty leagues. We ranged the coaſt, both eaſt and weſt, much further, but eaſtward, our commodities were not eſteemed, they were ſo near the French, who knew their wants, and who traded with the ſavages, at ſuch long diſtances that they went further than the precincts of their own diſtricts.

With theſe furs, train oil, and dried fiſh, I returned to *England* in the bark, and arrived ſafely back, within ſix months of our departure from the *Downs*. The beſt of the fiſh ſold for £5 the hundred; the reſt, by reaſon of ill uſage, from £3 to 50s. The other ſhip ſtayed to fit herſelf for *Spain* with the dried fiſh, which was ſold at *Malaga*

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at forty rials* the quintal, each hundred weighing two quintals and a half. But one *Thomas Hunt*, the maſter of the ſhip, (after that I was gone), thinking to prevent the plan I had of there making a plantation, and hoping to thereby keep this abounding country to himſelf, and ſtill in obſcurity, ſo that only he, and ſome few merchants more, might enjoy wholly the benefit of the trade, and profit, of this country, did betray four and twenty of thoſe poor ſavages aboard his ſhip, and moſt diſhoneſtly and inhumanely, (for they treated me and all my men with kind uſage), carried them with him to *Malaga*, and there for a little private gain, he ſold thoſe poor unfortunate ſilly ſavages for rials of eight; but this vile act kept him ever after from any other employment to thoſe parts.

Now I taken a draught of this coaſt, and called it *New England*, yet did *Hunt*, his conſorts, and ſo many others who after my ſucceſsful return, went thither next year, perſiſt in drowning that name, by calling it *Cannaday*, that at laſt I preſented the map, with a diſcourſe, to his Royal Highneſs Prince *Charles*, now His moſt Gracious Majeſty, humbly intreating him that he would change the

* A Rial was worth ten ſhillings in England. There ſeems to have been an error; otherwiſe the fiſh fetched a Rial apiece! Even if it were the *Rial of Eight* (Ruding, v. ii. p. 60) or Piece of Eight of Robinſon Cruſoe, which was worth 4s. 6d., it would ſtill be a high price.

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barbarous names of ſome of the places, for such Engliſh names, that poſterity might ſay Prince *Charles* was their godfather, and this he did, as a few of the names will show.

Cape Cod	he changed to	*Cape James.*
Chawum	,,	*Barwick.*
Accomack	,,	*Plymouth.*
Sagoquas	,,	*Oxford*, &c. &c.

Returning in the bark, it was my ill luck, as it afterwards turned out, to put into *Plymouth*, where I imparted my opinions of this unregarded country to divers whom I thought my friends, and who were intereſted in the dead Patent. By them I was ſo encouraged, and aſſured to have the managing of their authority during my life, and they made me ſuch large promiſes, that I engaged myſelf with them to undertake it. When I came to *London* I found others equally eager to avail themſelves of my ſervices, but having pledged myſelf to them at *Plymouth*, I could not go from my word.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

IT was not, however, till next year (1615), and after many vexations, that I really, and in earneſt, did get away. I was employed by many of my friends in *London*, and Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, a noble knight, who much affected theſe ſorts of adventures, and he it was who perſuaded the Reverend Dean of *Exeter*, Doctor *Sutliffe*, and divers merchants of the Weſt, to entertain the idea of an expedition to this plantation. Much labour indeed had I to bring them and the *Londoners* to join together, becauſe the *Londoners* have moſt money, and the Weſtern men are moſt proper for fiſhing; and it is near as much trouble, and much more danger, to ſail from *London* to *Plymouth* than from *Plymouth* to *New England*, ſo that half the voyage would be thus ſaved; yet, as I ſaid before, hard work had I before I could prevail, ſo deſirous were they both to be Lords of that fiſhery.

I was to have only ſixteen men, *i.e.*, four gentlemen, eight ſoldiers, and two men and two boys, who were to learn to be ſailors, but I expected great help from the ſavages, to whom I was well, and favourably, known. When I returned firſt from *New England* to *Plymouth*, I was promiſed four

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good ſhips ready prepared to my hand by the next Chriſtmas, ſo that in January, with two hundred pounds in caſh for adventure, and ſix gentlemen well furniſhed, I went from *London* to *Plymouth*, where I expected to find my ſhips, but I found no ſuch matter; and, moreover, many who had promiſed me help, were now unwilling to afford it. Notwithſtanding, at laſt, with a labyrinth of trouble, though the greateſt of the burden lay on me and a few of my particular friends, I was furniſhed with a ſhip of two hundred tons, and another of fifty, and in the larger one I ſet ſail, having had the dignity conferred on me of Admiral of *New England*. But ere I had ſailed one hundred and twenty leagues, ſhe brake all her maſts and leaked ſo badly, that each watch, in order to keep her afloat, we had to pump ſome five or ſix thouſand ſtrokes. All we could do was to ſet her ſprit ſail, ſo as to keep her ſpooning before the wind, till we could rig up a jury maſt, when there was nothing elſe to do but to return to *Plymouth*, or founder at sea.

My Vice-Admiral, not knowing of my miſfortunes, proceeded on his voyage, whilſt I managed to get a ſmall bark of ſixty tons, with which I again ſet ſail on the 24th day of June, and this voyage turned out to be a moſt eventful one for me. For we had not been out many days when we were chaſed by one *Fry*, a pirate, to whom my maſter,

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mate, and pilot, together with divers others, importuned me to yield. But I would not, and after much ſwaggering, came to fair terms with him, ſwearing if they were broken I would rather ſink the ſhip than yield. They thought it ſtrange that a bark of threeſcore tons, and but four guns, ſhould ſtand upon terms with them, they being eighty expert ſeamen, in an excellent ſhip of one hundred and forty tons, and thirty-ſix caſt pieces of ordnance. Yet when they came to know who I was, they would have yielded to me and carried us anywhere, for many among them had been old ſoldiers of mine, and they had but lately run from *Tunis*, where they had ſtolen this veſſel, and were now ſhort of victual; but I rejected their offer, which afterwards we all repented, conſidering them too unruly.

After we made the *Azores*, we encountered, at *Fayal*, two French pirates, one of two hundred men, the other of thirty. My men would not fight until that I threatened that I would blow up the ſhip rather than yield before I had ſpent all my powder. So that together by the ears we went, and at laſt we got clear of them, for all their ſhot. But it was only to fall into a greater evil, for at *Flores* we were chaſed by four French men-of-war, the Admiral being a veſſel of one hundred and forty tons, and ninety men; the others good ſhips,

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and as well provided. Much parley we had, they vowing they were *Rochellers*, who had a commiſſion from their King to let true men paſs, but to take Portugals, Spaniards, and pirates. They requeſted me to ſhow my commiſſion, which was under the Great Seal, and I went on board for that purpoſe; but they reſpected it not, nor even their own words, for they kept me priſoner, rifled my ſhip, manned her with Frenchmen, and diſperſed my crew among their fleet.

Within five or ſix days their numbers had increaſed to eight or nine ſail, and then they gave us back our ſhip and moſt of our proviſion, promiſing to remedy the defects the next day, and ſo they did. My crew, however, had got mutinous, and were all for returning to *England*, but when, after ſome trouble, I perſuaded them they were as near to New *England*, as to the Old, the major part reſolved to proceed with me. The French Admiral ſent for me again, and I went on board his veſſel, which ſcarce had I done, when he eſpied a ſail and gave chaſe, whereby my mutineers finding an opportunity, in the night, ran away, leaving me on board the Admiral's ſhip, with ſimply the clothes I had on, my cap, breeches, and waiſtcoat, for I had no coat, by reaſon of the heat. The mutineers ſhared amongſt them my clothes, arms, and whatſoever I had, and, feigning that they feared I ſhould turn

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my ſhip into a man-of-war, they returned to *Plymouth.*

Now the cauſe why the French detained me was, that my maſter and mate had told them that I meant to revenge myſelf, when I came to the *Cod Bank*, or in *New found land*, on all the French I could there encounter, and how I would have fired the ſhip had they not over perſuaded me; alſo, that for the value of a biſcuit, if I had once again my arms, I would rather ſink my veſſel than that they ſhould have the leaſt thing from me. Of courſe this treachery, and thoſe lies, were only that they might get rid of me, ſo, they having left, perforce I had to go with the Frenchmen.

Being a fleet of eight or nine ſail, they watched for the *Weſt India* fleet, till ill weather ſeparated us from the other eight; ſtill we ſpent our time among the Iſles of the *Azores*, during which cruiſe I wrote an account of how I had been treated, and of my miſerable eſtate, hoping to have been able to ſend it to his Majeſty's Council, by ſome ſhip or other. At laſt we were chaſed by one Captain *Barra*, an Engliſh pirate, in a ſmall ſhip, with ſome twelve pieces of ordnance, about thirty men, and all of them near ſtarved. Very courteouſly did they ſeek relief of us, and our captain gave them ſuch fair promiſes, that at laſt they betrayed Captain *Wolliſtone*, his lieutenant, and four or five of his

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men aboard of us, and then muſt needs try to take the reſt perforce. All this time, as indeed ever it was when we met with Engliſhmen, my part was to be priſoner in the gun-room, and not to ſpeak to any of them upon my life; yet had *Barra* knowledge what I was. Then *Barra* perceiving well the intents of thoſe Frenchmen, made ready to fight, and *Wolliſtone* regarded not their threats; ſo they parleyed for ſome ſixteen hours longer, and then the Frenchmen returned their priſoners, and alſo imparted ſome victual upon a ſmall compoſition. But whilſt they were thus bartering, a carvel, before their faces, got under the Caſtle of *Gratioſa*, from whence they beat us with their ordnance.

They ſpared nor large, nor ſmall, and I mind me well they took a ſmall Engliſh veſſel of *Poole*, from *New found land;* the great cabin was at that time my priſon, from whence I could ſee them pillage theſe poor men of all they had, and half their fiſh; and, when they were gone, they ſold their poor clothes by an outcry at the mainmaſt, and it was ſuch a paltry booty that it ſcarce gave each man ſeven pence a piece.

It may, perchance, be ſomewhat weariſome, but I muſt tell you of the divers veſſels we met, and of their fate, ſo that you may have a good idea of what a pirate's life was in thoſe latitudes. Not long after, they took a *Scot*, freighted from St.

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Michael's to *Briſtol*, but he had better fortune than the others, for, having but taken from him a boat's loading of ſugar, marmalade, ſuckets, and such like, they deſcried four ſails, after whom they ſtood, and furling their main ſails waited for us to fight. But the Frenchman's ſpirit was content when he ſaw the Engliſh red croſſes. Within a very ſhort time after, we chaſed four Spaniſh ſhips that came from the *Indies;* we fought with them four or five hours, tore their ſails and ſides with many a ſhot betwixt wind and water, yet not daring to board them, loſt them, for which all the ſailors, for ever after, hated the Captain as a profeſſed coward.

A poor carvel of *Brazil* was the next we chaſed; and, after a ſmall fight, in which thirteen or fourteen of her crew (which was indeed the better half of them) were wounded, we took her, with three hundred and ſeventy cheſts of ſugar, one hundred hides, and thirty thouſand rials of eight.

The next was a ſhip of *Holland*, which had loſt her conſorts in the Straits of *Magellan*. Her, alſo, theſe Frenchmen, with fair promiſes, cunningly betrayed to come aboard them to ſhow their commiſſion, and ſo made prize of all. The moſt of the Dutchmen we took aboard the Admiral, and manned her with Frenchmen, who, within two or three nights afterwards, ran away with her to *France*. Within a day or two after, we met a

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Weſt India man-of-war, of one hundred and ſixty tons; before noon we fought with her, and took her. This was a rich prize, for ſhe had on board one thouſand one hundred hides, fifty cheſts of cochineal, fourteen coffers of wedges of ſilver, eight thouſand rials of eight, and ſix coffers of the King of *Spain's* treaſure, beſides the good pillage, and rich coffers of many wealthy paſſengers.

CHAPTER XXV.

TWO months they kept me in this manner, making me manage their fights againſt the Spaniards, and keeping me a cloſe priſoner when they fought with any Engliſh. Now, though the Captain had oft broke his promiſe, which was to put me on ſhore the *Iſles*, or the next ſhip he took; yet at the laſt he was contented I ſhould go in the carvel, which was loaded with ſugar, to *France*, and accordingly I went on board her. He, himſelf, ſeemed reſolved to keep the ſeas, but the next morning we all ſet ſail for *France*, and that night we were ſeparated from the Admiral and the rich prize by a ſtorm. Within two days afterwards, we were hailed by two *Weſt India* men, but when they ſaw us hoiſt the French colours, they gave us their

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broadſides, ſhot through our main maſt, and ſo left us. With much ado we arrived at the *Aiguillon*, not far from *La Rochelle*, where, inſtead of performing the great promiſes with which they had always fed me, of double ſatisfaction, and full content for all my loſſes, beſides ten thouſand crowns, which was generally concluded I ſhould have, they kept me five or ſix days, a priſoner in the carvel, accuſing me to be him that burnt their Colony in *New France*, to force me to give them a diſcharge before the Judge of the Admiralty, and ſubmit myſelf to their courteſy for ſatisfaction, or elſe I ſhould lie in priſon, or even a worſe miſchief might happen to me. The times then were very lawleſs, when the Prince de Condé was with his army in the field, and every poor lord, or man in authority, was as a little king to himſelf; for this injury that was done me was by them that propoſed this voyage, and not by the ſailors, for they were cheated of all, as well as I, by a few officers aboard, and the owners aſhore.

As good luck would have it, there came ſuch a ſtorm as beat them all under hatches, and I watched my opportunity to get aſhore in their boat, whereinto, in the dark night, I ſecretly got, and, with a half pike that lay by me, I put adrift, hoping to land on *Rat Iſland*, but the current was ſo ſtrong, and the ſea ran ſo high, that I went drifting to ſea,

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till it pleaſed God that the wind ſhifted with the turn of the tide. I was the whole of that fearful night—ſome twelve hours—in the guſts and rain, on the ſea, tired with ſculling, and baling out the water, which I expected every minute would ſink me, till at laſt I was ſtranded on an oozy Iſle by *Charron*, where certain fowlers found me near drowned, and half dead with water, cold, and hunger.

One does not always meet with diſintereſted friends in this world, and theſe ſaid fowlers would not help me without reward; ſo I pawned my boat (which was the only thing of value I poſſeſſed) to them, to find means to take me to *La Rochelle*, where I underſtood our man-of-war, and the rich prize, in which was the Captain, and the thirty thouſand rials of eight we took in the carvel, had been driven on the rocks and wrecked, the Captain and half his company drowned, on the very ſame night in which I eſcaped in a little boat, by the mercy of God, far beyond all men's reaſon or my own expectation. When I arrived at *Rochelle*, I made my complaint to the Judge of the Admiralty. He gave me many good words and fair promiſes, and ere long, many of them that had eſcaped drowning told me how they had heard the news of my own death. Some of theſe I cauſed to be arreſted, and as their ſeveral examinations did

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confirm my complaint, it was held proof sufficient, and the Judge gave me a certificate under his hand, ſtating that he believed my ſtory to be true, which I preſented to Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, then our Engliſh Ambaſſador, at *Bordeaux*, where it was my chance to ſee the arrival of the King's great marriage from *Spain*.

Here it was my good fortune to meet my old friend Maſter *Crampton*; grieved at my loſs he willingly, and as far as in his power lay, did ſupply my wants, as did alſo Madam *Chanoyes*, of *Rochelle*, whom I moſt eſpecially thank, for that ſhe did ſuch kindneſs to me, a ſtranger. But I have ever found reſcue and protection in my greateſt dangers from women. The beauteous Lady *Tragabigzanda*, when I was a ſlave to the Turks, did all ſhe could to ſuccour me. When I overcame the Baſhaw of *Nalbrits* in *Tartaria*, the charitable Lady *Callamata* ſupplied my neceſſities. In the utmoſt of many neceſſities, that bleſſed *Pocahontas*, the daughter of the great King of *Virginia*, oft ſaved my life. And now, when I eſcaped the cruelty of pirates and moſt furious ſtorms, a long time alone in a ſmall boat at ſea, and driven aſhore in *France*, the good lady Madam *Chanoyes* bountifully aſſiſted me. Indeed, I may ſay that I was more beholden to the Frenchmen that eſcaped drowning in the man-of-war, Madam

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Chanoyes, and the lawyers of *Bordeaux*, than all the reſt of my countrymen I met in *France*.

Of the wreck of the rich prize, ſome three thouſand ſix hundred crowns' worth of goods came aſhore, and were ſaved in the carvel, and I iſſued a proceſs of attachment upon them. I could not then ſtay for the ending of my ſuit, but the Judge promiſed I ſhould have juſtice, and ſo it proved, for I ſince received my fair ſhare of what there was to divide. But under the colour and pretext to take pirates and *Weſt India* men (becauſe the Spaniards will not ſuffer the French to trade with the *Weſt Indies*), any goods from thence, though they take them upon the coaſt of *Spain*, are lawful prize, or from any of the Spaniard's territories out of the limits of *Europe;* and as they betrayed me, though my commiſſion was under the Great Seal, ſo did they rob and pillage twenty ſail of Engliſhmen more, beſides thoſe I knew not of, in the ſame year.

Leaving thus my buſineſs in *France*, I returned to *Plymouth*, to find thoſe treacherous mutineers who had thus buried me among the French; and not only buried me, but with ſo much infamy, as ſuch treacherous cowards could ſuggeſt, to excuſe their villanies. Such of the chieftains of this mutiny as I could find, I laid by the heels, and the reſt confeſſed the truth. I alſo heard how my

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Vice-Admiral, who unwittingly parted company with me when I ſprung my maſts, had done well on his voyage, and returned; and that from *Plymouth* ſome four or five ſail had gone there a-fiſhing, and from *London* as many. And to my thinking, as I perſuade myſelf, there be fiſh ſufficient to freight four or five hundred ſail, or as many as will go; for this fiſhing ſtretcheth along the coaſt from *Cape Cod* to *New found land*, which is ſeven or eight hundred miles at the leaſt; and hath its courſe in the deeps, and by the ſhore, all the year round; the fiſh keeping their haunts and feedings as the beaſts of the field and the fowls of the air.

On my return, after puniſhing my mutineers, I took a little reſt, and writ a "Deſcription of *New England*," with my map thereof, and then I ſet about another voyage thither, which came to nought.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

AND now, bethink you what news I heard? Nought leſs than that Sir *Thomas Dale*, having, to his thinking, ſettled all things in good order, made choice of one Maſter *George Yearly* to be the Deputy Governor in his abſence, left *Virginia*, accompanied by *Pocahontas*, my moſt dear little maid, and her huſband, and they landed at *Plymouth* on the 12th day of June, in the year 1616. As I have before ſaid, ſhe had been converted to Chriſtianity, and baptized under the name of the Lady *Rebecca*. Her real name was *Matoaka*, and ſhe was only called *Pocahontas*, becauſe that the ſavages did think that, did we know her real name, we ſhould have the power of caſting an evil eye upon her. By the diligent care of Maſter John *Rolfe*, her huſband, and his friends, ſhe was taught to ſpeak ſuch Engliſh as might well be underſtood, had been well inſtructed in Chriſtianity, and was become very formal and civil in her behaviour, after our Engliſh manner. She alſo had by him a child, whom ſhe loved very dearly, and the Treaſurer, and Virginia Company took order for the maintenance both of her and her baby: beſides which, there were divers perſons

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Matoaks als Rebecka daughter to the mighty Prince Powhatan Emperour of Attanoughkomouck als virginia converted and baptized in the Christian faith, and wife to the wor.ll Mr. Joh. Rolfe.

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of great rank and quality who were very kind to her; and before ſhe arrived in *London*, I, being deſirous of in part repaying her former courteſies, made her qualities known to the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty, and to her Court, and I writ a little book to this effect to the Queen, of which the following is an abſtract:—

"To the moſt high and vertuous Princeſſe,
"Queen *Anne** of Great Britaine.

"MOST ADMIRED QUEENE,

"The love I beare my God, my King, and Countrie, hath ſo oft emboldened mee in the worſt of extreme dangers, that now honeſtie doth conſtraine me to preſume thus farre beyond my ſelfe, to preſent your Majeſtie this ſhort diſcourſe: if ingratitude be a deadly poyſon to all honeſt vertues, I muſt bee guiltee of that crime, if I ſhould omit any means to be thankfull. So it is,

"That ſome ten yeeres agoe being in *Virginia*, and taken priſoner by the power of *Powhatan* their chiefe King, I received from this great Salvage exceeding great courteſie, eſpecially from his ſonne *Nantaquas*, the moſt manlieſt, comelieſt, boldeſt ſpirit, I ever ſaw in a Salvage, and his ſiſter *Pocahontas*, the King's moſt deare and wel-beloved daughter, being but a child of twelve or thirteene

* Conſort of James I.

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yeeres of age, whoſe compaſſionate pitifull heart, of my deſperate eſtate, gave me much cauſe to reſpect her; I being the firſt Chriſtian this proud King and his grim attendants ever ſaw: and thus inthralled in their barbarous power, I cannot ſay I felt the leaſt occaſion of want that was in the power of thoſe my mortall foes to prevent, notwithſtanding al their threats. After ſome ſix weeks fatting amongſt thoſe Salvage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, ſhe hazarded the beating out of her own brains to ſave mine, and not only that, but ſo prevailed with her father, that I was ſafely conducted to *James Towne*, where I found about eight and thirtie miſerable poore and ſicke creatures, to keepe poſſeſſion of all thoſe large territories of *Virginia*, ſuch was the weakneſſe of this poore Commonwealth, as had the Salvages not fed us, we directly had ſtarved.

And this reliefe, moſt gracious Queene, was commonly brought us by this Lady *Pocahontas*. Notwithſtanding all thoſe paſſages when inconſtant Fortune turned our peace to Warre, this tender Virgin would ſtill not ſpare to dare to viſit us, and by her our jarres have beene oft appeaſed, and our wants ſtill ſupplyed. Were it the policie of her father thus to imploy her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her His inſtrument, or her extraordinary affection to our Nation, I know not; but of

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this I am ſure; when her father with the utmoſt of his policie and power, ſought to ſurprize mee, having but eighteene with mee, the darke night could not affright her from comming through the irkeſome woods, and with watered eies gave me intelligence, with her beſt advice to eſcape his furie, which had hee knowne, hee had ſurely ſlaine her. *James Towne* with her wild traine ſhe as freely frequented, as her father's habitation; and during the time of two or three yeeres, the next under God, was ſtill the inſtrument to preſerve this Colonie from death, famine, and utter confuſion, which if in thoſe times had once been diſſolved, *Virginia* might have lien as it was at our firſt arrivall to this day. Since then, this buſineſſe having beene turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at: it is moſt certaine, after a long and troubleſome warre after my departure, betwixt her father and our Colonie, all which time ſhee was not heard of, about two yeeres after, ſhee herſelfe was taken priſoner, being ſo detained neere two yeeres longer, the Colonie by that meanes was releived, peace concluded, and at laſt, rejecting her barbarous condition, was married to an *Engliſh* Gentleman, with whom, at this preſent, ſhe is in *England;* the firſt Chriſtian ever of that Nation, the firſt *Virginian* ever ſpake *Engliſh*, or had a childe in marriage by an *Engliſhman*, a matter

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ſurely, if my meaning bee truly conſidered and well underſtood, worthy a Princes underſtanding.

"Thus, moſt gracious Lady, I have related to your Majeſtie, what at your beſt leiſure our approved Hiſtories will account you at large, and done in the time of your Majeſties life, and however this might bee preſented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot be from a more honeſt heart, as yet I never begged anything of the State, or any, and it is my want of abilitie, and her exceeding deſert, your birth, meanes, and authoritie, hir birth, vertue, want and ſimplicitie, doth make me ſo bold, humbly to beſeech your Majeſtie to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one ſo unworthy to be the reporter, as myſelfe, her huſbands eſtate not being able to make her fit to attend your Majeſtie: the moſt and leaſt I can doe, is to tell you this, becauſe none ſo oft hath tried it as my ſelfe, and the rather being of ſo great a ſpirit, how ever her ſtature; if ſhe ſhould not be well received, ſeeing this Kingdome may rightly have a Kingdome by her meanes; her preſent love to us and Chriſtianitie, might turne to ſuch ſcorne and furie, as to divert all this good to the worſt of evill, where finding ſo great a Queene ſhould doe her ſome honour more than ſhe can imagine, for being ſo kinde to your ſervantes and ſubjects, would ſo raviſh her with content, as endeare her deareſt bloud

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to effect that, your Majeſtie and all the Kings honeſt ſubjects moſt earneſtly deſire: And ſo I humbly kiſſe your gracious hands."

This ſcripture of mine had good effect, for the Queen moſt graciouſly received her, and all the ladies of the Court vied with each other as to who could do her ſervice.

I was about this time preparing to ſet ſail a third time for *New England*, and, although my expedition came to nought, I could not ſtay to do her that ſervice I deſired, and ſhe well deſerved; but, hearing ſhe was at *Brentford*, with divers of my friends, I went to ſee her. The ſight of me called up a flood of recollections, and ſomewhat overcame her, for, after a modeſt ſalutation, without ſaying a word, ſhe turned about, and obſcured her face, as not ſeeming well contented; and in that humour, we all, her huſband and myſelf, left her for two or three hours, and I, thinking her ſomewhat ſulky, repented myſelf having written that ſhe could ſpeak *Engliſh*.

But not long after, ſhe began to talk, and reminded me well what courteſies ſhe had done; saying, "You did promiſe *Powhatan*, what was yours ſhould be his, and he the like to you; you called him father, being in his land a ſtranger, and by the ſame reaſon ſo muſt I do you:" which, though I would have excuſed, I durſt not have

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allowed her to uſe that title, becauſe ſhe was a King's daughter. With a bright look ſhe turned her face full towards me, and ſaid, "Were you afraid to come into my father's country, and cauſe fear in him and all his people (but me), and fear you here that I ſhould call you father? I tell you then I will, and you ſhall call me child, and ſo I will be for ever and ever your countrywoman. They did tell us always you were dead, and I knew no other, till I came to *Plymouth;* yet *Powhatan* did command *Uttamatomakkin* to ſeek you, and know the truth, becauſe your countrymen will lie much."

This ſavage, of whom ſhe ſpake, was one of *Powhatan's* Council, and was, amongſt them, held to be an underſtanding fellow. The King ſent him, as they ſay, purpoſely to number the people here, and to inform him well what we were and what was our ſtate. Arriving at *Plymouth*, according to his directions he got a long ſtick, whereon by notches he did think to have kept the number of all the men he could ſee, but he quickly wearied of that taſk. Coming to *London*, where many were deſirous to hear him and ſee his behaviour, he met me by chance, and we renewed our acquaintance. Then he told me *Powhatan* had bidden him to find me out, ſo that I might ſhow him our God, the King, Queen, and Prince, of all of whom I ſo

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much had told them. Concerning God, I told him the beſt I could; the King I had heard he had ſeen, and the reſt he ſhould ſee whenever he liked. He denied ever having ſeen the King, till by circumſtances he was ſatisfied that he had. Then ſaid he very ſadly, "You gave *Powhatan* a white dog, which *Powhatan* fed as himſelf, but your King gave me nothing, and I am better than your white dog."

During the ſhort time I was in *London*, divers courtiers and others, my acquaintances, went with me to ſee *Pocahontas*, and they generally concluded, that they did think God had a great hand in her converſion, and that they had ſeen many *Engliſh* ladies worſe favoured, proportioned and behavioured; and, as ſince I have heard, it pleaſed both the King and the Queen's Majeſtie honourably to eſteem her. And ſhe went about, accompanied by that honourable Lady, the Lady De la Warr, and that honourable Lord her huſband, and divers other perſons of good quality, both publicly at the Maſks, and otherwiſe, to her great ſatisfaction and content, which doubtleſs ſhe would have told her people, had ſhe lived to arrive at *Virginia*.

But that, alas! ſhe was fated not to do. The Treaſurer, Council, and *Virginia* Company, having well furniſhed Captain *Samuel Argall* for his outward voyage, the Lady *Pocahontas*, or *Rebecca*,

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with her huſband and others, embarked in the good ſhip called the *George*, but ſhe was taken ill, and, when the ſhip lay at *Graveſend*, it pleaſed God to take this young lady to His mercy. She made not more ſorrow for her unexpected death, than joy to the beholders to hear and ſee her make ſo religious and godly an end. She was buried in the chancel of the church at *Graveſend* on 21ſt day of March, $\frac{1616}{1617}$* being then in the twenty-ſecond year of her age. Her huſband grieved ſorely for her, but he returned with *Argall*, leaving his little child, *Thomas*, at *Plymouth*, with Sir *Lewis Stukly*, who earneſtly deſired the keeping of him. Poor little maid! I ſorrowed much for her thus early death, and even now cannot think of it without grief, for I felt towards her as if ſhe were mine own daughter. Her father, *Powhatan*, lived not long after her, for he died in April, 1618.

* The church of St. George at Graveſend, where ſhe was buried, was burnt down in 1727, but the regiſters were preſerved, and in that of her burial there is a curious error as to the date, May being written inſtead of March: "1616, May 2j. Rebeca Wrothe, wyff of Thomas [*ſhould be John*] Wroth, gent., a Virginia Lady borne, was buried in the Chauuncle." Here, then, we have two errors, one in Rolfe's Chriſtian name, and the other in the date, which muſt neceſſarily be March, for in an account of how "The Government devolved to Captaine Samuel Argall, 1617," it ſays, "In March they ſet ſaile, 1617, and in May he arrived at *James* Town;" and in the Calendar of State Papers (Domeſtic Series) it ſays, "Mar. 29, 1617. The Virginian Woman died at Graveſend on her return."

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I went not to *New England*, nor could I get any ſuitable employment. New men have ariſen, and no place can now be found for me, who have been wont to be a leader among men. But when the moſt ſad and terrible news came of the maſſacre of nigh upon 400 of the ſettlers, by the ſavages, on the 22nd day of March, 1622, then I wrote to the Right Worſhipful the Company of *Virginia*, offering to go with 100 ſoldiers and 30 ſailors, if they would provide ſuch, with victual, munition, and ſuch neceſſary proviſion, and, by God's aſſiſtance, we would endeavour to enforce the ſavages to leave their country, or bring them into that fear and ſubjection that every man ſhould follow his buſineſs ſecurely.

How think you that my offer was treated? Their anſwer to me was that the charge would be too great; their ſtock was decayed, and they did think the planters ſhould do that work themſelves, if I could find means to effect it. They did think I might have leave of the Company, to do it at mine own coſt, provided they might have half the pillage; but I think there are not many that would ſtrive much for that employment, for, except it be a little corn which at ſome time of the year may be had, I would not give twenty pounds for all the pillage to be got among the ſavages in twenty years. So I went not, nor have I had aught to do

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with *Virginia* ſince, ſave that in the year 1623 His Majeſty's Commiſſioners for the re-formation of *Virginia* deſired me to give them my experience to guide them, and to that end propounded to me ſeven queſtions, which I anſwered at length to the beſt of my ability.

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L'ENVOY.

I HAVE thus writ the adventures of my dear old friend, as he ſpake them, and have no more to add to them. From that time forth, he led a peaceful, harmleſs life, beloved of all that knew him. As he himſelf hath writ, "I thanke God I never undertook any thing yet, any could tax me of careleſſneſſe or diſhoneſty, and who is hee to whom I am indebted or troubleſome? Ah! were my accuſers but to change caſes and places with me but 2 yeres, or till they had done but ſo much as I, it may be they would judge more charitably of my imperfections. But here I muſt leave all to the triall of time, both myſelfe, *Virginia's* preparations, proceedings, and good events, praying to that great God, the Protector of all goodneſſe, to ſend them as good ſucceſſe as the goodneſſe of the action and country deſerveth and my heart deſireth."

In his lifetime he wrote many books, and I have ſet them down in the order as they were written, as followeth :—

"A true relation of ſuch occurrences and accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia ſince the firſt planting of that Collony, which is now reſident in the South part thereof, till the laſt returne from thence." 1608.

"A Map of Virginia; with a deſcription of the Countrey, the commodities, people, government and religion." 1612.

"A Deſcription of New England." 1616.

"New Englands Trials." 1620.

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"An Accidence, or the Pathway to Experience neceſſary for all Young Seamen, &c." 1620.

"The Generall Hiſtorie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Iſles, &c. 1624.

"The True Travels, Adventures, and Obſervations of Captain John Smith in Europe, Aſia, Affrica, and America, from Anno Domini 1593 to 1629," &c.

"Advertiſements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England or any where," &c. 1631.

And "The Seaman's Grammar."

At the time of his death he was at work on, and left unfiniſhed, "A Hiſtory of the Sea."

After his death, a loving friend, I may not ſay who, but I know full well, put up a tablet to his memory, on the ſouth ſide of the Quire of St. Sepulchre's Church, where he was interred, and thus it runs:—

"To the living Memory of his deceaſed Friend Captain JOHN SMITH, ſometime Governour of *Virginia*, and Admiral of *New England*. Who departed this Life the 21ſt of June 1631.

Accordiamus, Vincere eſt Vivere.

Here lyes one conquered that hath conquered Kings,
Subdu'd large Territories, and done Things
Which to the World impoſſible would ſeem,
But that the Truth is held in more eſteem.
Shall I report his former Service done
In honour of his God and Chriſtendom?
How that he did divide from Pagans three
Their Heads and Lives, Types of his Chivalry.
For which great Service, in that Climate done,
Brave *Sigiſmundus*, King of *Hungarion*,
Did give him as a Coat of Armes to wear,

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Theſe Conquered Heads got by his Sword and Spear.
Or ſhall I tell of his Adventures ſince
Done in *Virginia*, that large Continent?
How that he ſubdu'd Kings unto his Yoke,
And made thoſe Heathen flee, as Wind doth Smoke:
And made their land, being of ſo large a Station,
An Habitation for our Chriſtian Nation,
Where God is glorify'd, their Wants ſupply'd;
Which elſe, for Neceſſaries muſt have dy'd.
But what avails his Conqueſts, now he lyes
Interr'd in Earth, a Prey to Worms and Flyes?
O! May his Soul in ſweet *Elyſium* ſleep,
Until the Keeper that all Souls doth keep,
Return to Judgment; and that after thence,
With Angels he may have his Recompence."

And as ſome of you haply would fain read his laſt Will and Teſtament, which was written on the day of his death, I have tranſcribed it as under:—

"IN THE NAME OF GOD. AMEN. The one and twentieth daie of June in the ſeaventh yeare of the reigne of our Soveraigne Lord Charles by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. I, *Captain John Smith*, of the pariſh of S^{t} Sepulchers, London, Eſqui^{r}, being ſicke in bodye, but of perfect mind and memory, thanckes be given unto Almightie God therefore, Revoking all former wills by me heretofore made, doe make and ordaine this my laſt will and teſtament in manner followinge. Firſt, I comend my ſoule into the handes of Almightie God my maker, hoping through the merittes of Chriſt Jeſus my Redeemer to receive full remiſſion of all my ſinnes and to inherit a place in the everlaſting

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kingdome, my body I comitt to the earth from whence it came, to be interred according to the diſcrec'on of myne executors hereunder named, and of ſuch worldlie goodes wherof it hath pleaſed God in his mercie to make me an unworthie Receaver, I give and bequeath them as hereafter followeth. Firſt, I give and bequeath unto Thomas Packer, Esq^r, one of the Clerkes of His Ma^tes Privy Seale and to his heires for ever, all my houſes, landes, tenementes and hereditamentes whatſoever ſcituate lyinge and beinge in the pariſhes of Lowthe and Greate Carleton in the Countie of Lincolne, togeather with my coate of armes. Item, my will and meaninge is that in conſiderac'on therof the ſaid Thomas Packer ſhall diſburſe and paye all ſuch ſomes of money and legacies as hereafter in this my will are given bequeathed and reſerved not exceeding the ſome of fowerſcore poundes of lawfull money of England, that is to ſaie: Firſt, I reſerve unto my ſelfe to be diſpoſed of as I ſhall thinck good in my life tyme the ſome of twentie poundes. Item, he ſhall diſburſe about my funerall the ſome of twentie poundes. Item, I give and bequeath out of the reſidue of the ſaid fourſcore poundes as followeth, viz^t, I give and bequeath unto my much honored and moſt worthie freind S^r Samuel Saltonſtall, Knight, the ſome of fyve poundes. Itm, to M^ris Tredway the ſome of fyve poundes. Itm, to my ſiſter Smith the widowe of my brother, the ſome of tenn poundes. Itm, to my coſen Steven Smith and his ſiſter the ſome of ſixe poundes thirteene ſhillinges and fower pence betweene them. Itm, to the ſaid Thomas Packer, Joane his wife, and Eleano^r his daughter, the ſome of tenn poundes among them.

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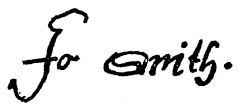
Item, to Mr Reynoldes the ſay Mr * of the goldſmiths Hall, the ſome of fortie ſhillinges, all wch legacies my meaning and will is ſhall be paid by the ſaid Thomas Packer his heires executors or adminiſtrators wthin one yeare after my deceaſe. Item, I give unto Thomas Packer ſonne of the above ſayd Thomas Packer my trunck ſtanding in my chamber at Sr Samuell Saltonſtalls houſe in St Sepulchres Parish, togeather with my beſt ſuite of apparell of a tawney color, vizt hoſe doublet jerkin and cloake. Item, I give unto him my trunke bound wth iron barres ſtanding in the houſe of Richard Hinde in Lambeth, togeather wth halfe the bookes therein, to be choſen by the ſaid Thomas Packer and allowed by myne executors, and the other halfe parte of the bookes I give unto Mr John Tredeſkin † and the ſaid Richard Hind to be divided betweene them. Item, I nominate apointe and ordaine my ſaid much honored friend Sr Samuell Saltonſtall and the ſaid Thomas Packer the elder, joynt executors of this my laſt will and teſtament; the marke of the ſaid John Smith. Read acknowledged sealed and delivered by the ſaid Captaine John Smith to be his laſt will and teſtament in the prſence of us who have ſubſcribed our names; per me Willmu' Keble Snr, civitatis London, Willm Packer, Elizabeth Sewſter, Marmaduke Walker his marke, witnes."



* The Aſſay Maſter.

† John Tradeſcant, whoſe collection is merged in the Aſhmolean Muſeum, Oxford.

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APPENDIX.

King James Ist's Letters Patent to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and others, for two ſeveral Colonies and Plantations, to be made in Virginia, and other Parts and Territories of America. Dated April 10, 1606.

I. JAMES by the Grace of GOD, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

WHEREAS our loving and well diſpoſed ſubjects, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, Knights, Richard Hackluit, Clerk, Prebendary of Weſtminſter, and Edward Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, and Ralegh Gilbert, Eſqrs., William Parker and George Popham, Gentlemen, and divers others of our loving Subjects, have been humble Suitors unto us, that We would vouchſafe unto them our Licence, to make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a Colony of ſundry of our People into that Part of America, commonly called VIRGINIA, and other Parts and Territories in America, either appertaining unto us, or which are not now actually poſſeſſed by any Chriſtian Prince or People, ſituate, lying, and being all along the Sea Coaſts, between four and thirty Degrees of Northerly Latitude from the Equinoctial Line, and five and forty Degrees of the ſame Latitude, and in the main Land between the ſame four and thirty, and five and forty Degrees, and the Iſlands thereunto adjacent, or within one hundred Miles of the Coaſt thereof.

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II. AND to that End, and for the more ſpeedy Accompliſhment of their ſaid intended Plantation and Habitation there, are deſirous to divide themſelves into two ſeveral Colonies and Companies; The one conſiſting of certain Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our City of London and elſewhere, which are, and from time to time ſhall be, joined unto them, which do deſire to begin their Plantation and Habitation in ſome fit and Convenient Place, between four and thirty and one and forty Degrees of the ſaid Latitude, alongſt the Coaſts of Virginia, and Coaſts of America aforeſaid; And the other conſiſting of ſundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers of our Cities of Briſtol and Exeter, and of our Town of Plimouth, and of other Places, which do join themſelves unto that Colony, which do deſire to begin their Plantation and Habitation in ſome fit and convenient Place, between eight and thirty Degrees and five and forty Degrees of the ſaid Latitude, all alongſt the ſaid Coaſt of Virginia and America as that Coaſt lyeth.

III. WE, greatly commending, and graciouſly accepting of, their Deſires for the Furtherance of ſo noble a Work, which may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the Glory of his Divine Majeſty, in propagating of Chriſtian Religion to ſuch People, as yet live in Darkneſs and miſerable Ignorance of the true Knowledge and Worſhip of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages living in thoſe parts, to human Civility, and to a ſettled and quiet Government; DO, by theſe our Letters Patents, graciouſly accept of, and agree to, their humble and well intended Deſires.

IV. AND do therefore, for Us, our Heirs, and

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Succeſſors, GRANT and agree, that the ſaid Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward Maria Wingfield, Adventurers of and for our City of London, and all ſuch others, as are, or ſhall be, joined unto them of that Colony, ſhall be called the *firſt Colony;* And they ſhall and may begin their ſaid firſt Plantation and Habitation, at any Place upon the ſaid Coaſt of Virginia or America, where they ſhall think fit and convenient between the ſaid four and thirty, and one and forty Degrees of the ſaid Latitude; And that they ſhall have all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatſoever, from the ſaid firſt Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the Space of fifty Miles of Engliſh Statute Meaſure, all along the ſaid Coaſt of Virginia and America, towards the Weſt and South weſt, as the Coaſt lyeth, with all the Iſlands within one hundred Miles directly over againſt the ſame Sea Coaſt; And alſo all the Lands, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Waters, Marſhes, Fiſhings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatſoever, from the ſaid Place of their firſt Plantation and Habitation for the Space of fifty like Engliſh Miles all alongſt the ſaid Coaſts of Virginia and America, towards the Eaſt and North Eaſt, or towards the North, as the Coaſt lyeth together with all the Iſlands within one hundred Miles, directly over againſt the ſaid Sea Coaſt; And alſo all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatſoever, from the ſame fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coaſt, directly into the main Land by the Space of one hundred like

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Engliſh Miles; and ſhall and may inhabit and remain there; ſhall and may alſo build and fortify within any the ſame, for their better Safeguard and Defence, according to their beſt Diſcretion, and the Diſcretion of the Council of that Colony; And that no other of our Subjects ſhall be permitted, or ſuffered, to plant or inhabit behind, or on the Back ſide of them, towards the main Land, without the Expreſs Licence or Conſent of the Council of that Colony, thereunto in Writing firſt had and obtained.

V. AND We do likewiſe, for Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, by theſe Preſents, GRANT and agree, that the ſaid Thomas Hanham, and Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and all others of the Town of Plimouth in the County of Devon, or elſewhere, which are, or ſhall be joined unto them of that Colony, ſhall be called the *Second Colony;* And that they ſhall and may begin their ſaid Plantation and Seat of their firſt Abode and Habitation, at any Place upon the ſaid Coaſt of Virginia, and America, where they ſhall think fit and Convenient, between eight and thirty Degrees of the ſaid Latitude, and five and forty Degrees of the ſame Latitude; and that they ſhall have all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatſoever, from the firſt Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the Space of fifty like Engliſh Miles, as is aforeſaid, all alongſt the ſaid Coaſts of Virginia and America, towards the Weſt and South weſt, or towards the South, as the Coaſt lyeth, and all the Iſlands within one hundred Miles, directly over againſt the ſaid Sea Coaſt: And alſo all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines,

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Minerals, Woods, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities, and Hereditaments whatſoever, from the ſaid Place of their firſt Plantation and Habitation for the Space of fifty like Miles, all alongſt the ſaid Coaſt of Virginia and America, towards the Eaſt and North eaſt, or towards the North, as the Coaſt lyeth, and all the Iſlands alſo within one hundred Miles directly over againſt the ſame Sea Coaſt; And alſo all the Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Woods, Mines, Minerals, Marſhes, Waters, Fiſhings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatſoever, from the ſame fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coaſt, directly into the main Land, by the Space of one hundred like Engliſh Miles; And ſhall and may inhabit and remain there; and ſhall and may alſo build and fortify within any the ſame for their better Safeguard, according to their beſt Diſcretion, and the Diſcretion of the Council of that Colony; And that none of our Subjects ſhall be permitted, or ſuffered, to plant, or inhabit behind, or on the Back of them, towards the main Land, without the expreſs Licence of the Council of that Colony, in Writing thereunto firſt had and obtained.

VI. PROVIDED always, and our Will and Pleaſure herein is, that the Plantation and Habitation of ſuch of the ſaid Colonies, as ſhall plant themſelves, as aforeſaid, ſhall not be made within one hundred like Engliſh Miles of the other of them, that firſt began to make their Plantation, as aforeſaid.

VII. AND We do alſo ordain, eſtabliſh, and agree, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, that each of the ſaid Colonies ſhall have a Council, which ſhall govern and order all Matters and Causes, which ſhall ariſe, grow, or happen, to or within the ſame ſeveral Colonies, according

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to ſuch Laws, Ordinances, and Inſtructions, as ſhall be, in that behalf, given or ſigned with Our Hand or Sign Manual, and paſs under the Privy Seal of our Realm of England; Each of which Councils ſhall conſiſt of thirteen Perſons, to be ordained, made, and removed, from time to time, according as ſhall be directed and compriſed in the ſame Inſtructions; And ſhall have a ſeveral Seal, for all Matters that ſhall paſs or concern the ſame ſeveral Councils; Each of which Seals ſhall have the King's Arms engraven on the one Side thereof, and his Portraiture on the other; and that the Seal for the ſaid firſt Colony ſhall have engraven round about, on the one Side, theſe words: *Sigillum Regis Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ;* on the other ſide this Inſcription round about: *Pro Concilio primæ Coloniæ Virginiæ.* And the Seal for the Council of the ſaid ſecond Colony ſhall alſo have engraven, round about the one Side thereof, the aforeſaid words: *Sigillum Regis Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ;* and on the other Side, *Pro Concilio ſecundæ Coloniæ Virginiæ.*

VIII. AND that alſo there ſhall be a Council eſtabliſhed here in England, which ſhall, in like manner, conſiſt of thirteen Perſons, to be, for that purpoſe, appointed by Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, which ſhall be called our *Council of Virginia;* And ſhall, from time to time, have the ſuperior Managing and Direction, only of and for all Matters, that ſhall or may concern the Government, as well of the ſaid ſeveral Colonies, as of and for any other Part or Place, within the aforeſaid Precincts of four and thirty and one and forty Degrees, above mentioned; Which Council ſhall, in like manner, have a Seal, for Matters concerning the Council or Colonies, with the

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like Arms and Portraiture, as aforeſaid, with this Inſcription, engraven round about on the one Side; *Sigillum Regis Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ;* and round about the other Side, *Pro Concilio ſuo Virginiæ.*

IX. AND, moreover, We do GRANT and agree, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, that the ſaid ſeveral Councils, of and for the ſaid ſeveral Colonies, ſhall and lawfully may, by Virtue hereof, from time to time, without any Interruption of Us, our Heirs, or Succeſſors, give and take Order, to dig, mine, and ſearch for all Manner of Mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper, as well within any Part of their ſaid ſeveral Colonies, as of the ſaid main Lands on the Back ſide of the ſame Colonies; And to HAVE and enjoy the Gold, Silver, and Copper, to be gotten thereof, to the Uſe and Behoof of the ſame Colonies, and the Plantations thereof; YIELDING therefore, to Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, the fifth Part only of all the ſame Gold and Silver, and the fifteenth Part of all the ſame Copper, ſo to be gotten or had, as is aforeſaid, without any other Manner of Profit or Account, to be given or yielded to Us, our Heirs, or Succeſſors, for or in Reſpect of the ſame.

X. AND that they ſhall, or lawfully may, eſtabliſh and Cauſe to be made a Coin, to paſs current there between the People of thoſe ſeveral Colonies, for the more Eaſe of Traffick and Bargaining between and amongſt them and the Natives there, of ſuch Metal, and in ſuch Manner and Form, as the ſaid ſeveral Councils there ſhall limit and appoint.

XI. AND We do likewiſe, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, by theſe Preſents, give full Power and Authority, to the ſaid Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers,

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Richard Hackluit, Edward Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and to every of them, and to the ſaid ſeveral Companies, Plantations, and Colonies, that they, and every of them, ſhall and may, at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and lead in the said Voyage, and for and towards the ſaid ſeveral Plantations and Colonies, and to travel thitherward, and to abide and inhabit there, in every the ſaid Colonies and Plantations, ſuch and ſo many of our Subjects, as ſhall willingly accompany them, or any of them, in the ſaid Voyages and Plantations; With ſufficient Shipping and Furniture of Armour, Weapons, Ordinance, Powder, Victual, and all other things neceſſary for the ſaid Plantations, and for their Uſe and Defence there: PROVIDED always, that none of the ſaid Perſons be ſuch, as ſhall hereafter be ſpecially reſtrained by Us, our Heirs, or Succeſſors.

XII. MOREOVER, We do, by theſe Preſents, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, GIVE AND GRANT Licence unto the ſaid Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and to every of the ſaid Colonies, that they, and every of them, ſhall and may, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for their ſeveral Defences, encounter, expulſe, repel, and reſiſt, as well by Sea, as by Land, by all Ways and Means whatſoever, all and every ſuch Perſon and Perſons, as without the ſpecial Licence of the ſaid ſeveral Colonies and Plantations, ſhall attempt to inhabit within the ſaid ſeveral Colonies and Plantations, or any of them, or that ſhall enterpriſe or attempt, at any time hereafter,

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the Hurt, Detriment, or Annoyance, of the ſaid ſeveral Colonies or Plantations.

XIII. GIVING AND GRANTING, by theſe Preſents, unto the ſaid Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, Edward Maria Wingfield, and their Aſſociates of the ſaid firſt Colony, and unto the ſaid Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and their Aſſociates of the ſaid ſecond Colony, and to every of them, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, Power and Authority to take and ſurpriſe, by all Ways and Means whatſoever, all and every Perſon and Perſons, with their Ships, Veſſels, Goods, and other Furniture, which ſhall be found trafficking, into any Harbour or Harbours, Creek or Creeks, or Place, within the Limits or Precincts of the ſaid ſeveral Colonies and Plantations, not being of the ſame Colony, until ſuch time, as they, being of any Realms or Dominions under our Obedience, ſhall pay, or agree to pay, to the Hands of the Treaſurer of that Colony, within whoſe Limits and Precincts they ſhall ſo traffick, two and a half upon every Hundred, of any thing, ſo by them trafficked, bought, or ſold; And being Strangers, and not Subjects under our Obeyſance, until they ſhall pay five upon every Hundred, of ſuch Wares and Merchandiſes, as they ſhall traffick, buy or ſell, within the precincts of the ſaid ſeveral Colonies, wherein they ſhall ſo traffick, buy, or ſell, as aforeſaid; WHICH Sums of Money or Benefit, as aforeſaid, for and during the Space of one and twenty Years, next enſuing the Date hereof, ſhall be wholly employed to the Uſe, Benefit, and Behoof of the ſaid ſeveral Plantations, where ſuch Traffick ſhall be made; And after the ſaid one and twenty Years

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ended, the ſame ſhall be taken to the Uſe of Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, by ſuch Officers and Miniſters, as by Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, ſhall be thereunto aſſigned or appointed.

XIV. AND We do further, by theſe Preſents, for Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, GIVE AND GRANT unto the ſaid Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward Maria Wingfield, and to their Aſſociates of the ſaid firſt Colony and Plantation, and to the ſaid Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and their Aſſociates of the ſaid ſecond Colony and Plantation, that they, and every of them, by their Deputies, Miniſters, and Factors, may tranſport the Goods, Chattles, Armour, Munition and Furniture, needful to be uſed by them, for their ſaid Apparel, Food, Defence, or otherwiſe in Reſpect of the ſaid Plantations, out of our Realms of England and Ireland, and all other our Dominions, from time to time, for and during the Time of Seven Years, next enſuing the Date hereof, for the better Relief of the ſaid ſeveral Colonies and Plantations, without any Cuſtom, Subſidy, or other Duty, unto Us, our Heirs, or Succeſſors, to be yielded or payed for the ſame.

XV. ALSO We do, for Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, DECLARE, by theſe Preſents, that all and every the Perſons, being our Subjects, which ſhall dwell and inhabit within every or any of the ſaid ſeveral Colonies and Plantations, and every of their Children, which ſhall happen to be born within any of the Limits and Precincts of the ſaid ſeveral Colonies and Plantations, ſhall HAVE and enjoy all Liberties, Franchiſes, and Immunities, within any of our other Dominions, to

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all Intents and Purpoſes, as if they had been abiding and born, within this our Realm of England, or any other of our ſaid Dominions.

XVI. MOREOVER, our gracious Will and Pleaſure is, and we do, by theſe Preſents, for Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, declare and ſet forth, that if any Perſon or Perſons, which ſhall be of any of the ſaid Colonies and Plantations, or any other, which ſhall traffick to the ſaid Colonies and Plantations, or any of them, ſhall, at any time or times hereafter, tranſport any Wares, Merchandiſes, or Commodities, out of any of our Dominions, with a Pretence to land, ſell, or otherwiſe diſpoſe of the ſame, within any the Limits and Precincts of any the ſaid Colonies and Plantations, and yet nevertheleſs, being at Sea, or after he hath landed the ſame within any of the ſaid Colonies and Plantations, ſhall carry the ſame into any other foreign Country, with a Purpoſe there to ſell or diſpoſe of the ſame, without the Licence of Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, in that Behalf firſt had and obtained; That then, all the Goods and Chattles of ſuch Perſon or Perſons, ſo offending and tranſporting, together with the ſaid Ship or Veſſel, wherein ſuch Tranſportation was made, ſhall be forfeited to Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors.

XVII. PROVIDED always, and our Will and Pleaſure is, and we do hereby declare to all Chriſtian Kings, Princes, and States, that if any Perſon or Perſons, which ſhall hereafter be of any of the ſaid ſeveral Colonies and Plantations, or any other, by his, their, or any of their Licence and Appointment, ſhall, at any time or times hereafter, rob or ſpoil, by Sea or by Land, or do any Act of unjuſt and unlawful Hoſtility, to any Subjects of Us, our Heirs, or Succeſſors, or any the Subjects of any

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King, Prince, Ruler, Governor, or State, being then in League or Amity with Us, our Heirs, or Succeſſors, and that upon ſuch Injury, or upon juſt Complaint of ſuch Prince, Ruler, Governor, or State, or their Subjects, We, our Heirs, or Succeſſors ſhall make open Proclamation, within any of the Ports of our Realm of England, commodious for that Purpoſe, That the ſaid Perſon or Perſons, having committed any ſuch Robbery or Spoil, ſhall within the term to be limited by ſuch Proclamations, make full Reſtitution or Satisfaction of all ſuch Injuries done, ſo as the ſaid Princes, or others ſo complaining, may hold themſelves fully ſatisfied and contented; And, that, if the ſaid Perſon or Perſons, having committed ſuch Robbery, or Spoil, ſhall not make, or cauſe to be made, Satisfaction accordingly, within ſuch Time ſo to be limited, That then it ſhall be lawful to Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, to put the ſaid Perſon or Perſons, having committed ſuch Robbery or Spoil, and their Procurers, Abettors or Comforters, out of our Allegiance and Protection; And that it ſhall be lawful and free for all Princes and others, to purſue with Hoſtility the ſaid Offenders, and every of them, and their and every of their Procurers, Aiders, Abettors, and Comforters, in that Behalf.

XVIII. AND finally, We do for Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, GRANT and agree, to and with the ſaid Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward Maria Wingfield, and all others of the firſt Colony, that We, our Heirs and Succeſſors, upon Petition in that Behalf to be made, ſhall, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of England, GIVE and GRANT, unto ſuch Perſons, their Heirs and Aſſigns, as the Council of that Colony, or the moſt Part of them,

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ſhall, for that purpoſe, nominate and aſſign, all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, which ſhall be within the Precincts limited for that Colony, as is aforeſaid, TO BE HOLDEN OF US, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, as of our Manor of Eaſt Greenwich, in the County of Kent, in *free and common Soccage* only, and not *in Capite.*

XIX. AND do, in like manner, GRANT, and agree, for Us, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, to and with the ſaid Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and all others of the ſaid ſecond Colony, that We, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, upon Petition in that Behalf to be made, ſhall, by Letters Patent, under the Great Seal of England, GIVE and GRANT unto ſuch Perſons, their Heirs and Aſſigns, as the Council of that Colony, or the moſt part of them, ſhall, for that purpoſe, nominate and aſſign, all the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments which ſhall be within the Precincts limited for that Colony, as is aforeſaid, TO BE HOLDEN OF US, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, as of our Manor of Eaſt Greenwich in the County of Kent, *in free and common Soccage* only, and not *in Capite.*

XX. ALL which Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, ſo to be paſſed by the ſaid ſeveral Letters patent, ſhall be ſufficient Aſſurance from the ſaid Patentees, ſo diſtributed and divided amongſt the Undertakers for the Plantation of the ſaid ſeveral Colonies, and ſuch as ſhall make their Plantations in either of the ſaid ſeveral Colonies, in ſuch Manner and Form, and for ſuch Eſtates, as ſhall be ordered and ſet down by the Council of the ſaid Colony, or the moſt Part of them, reſpectively, within which the ſame Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments ſhall lye or be; Although

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expreſs Mention of the true Yearly Value or Certainty of the Premiſes, or any of them, or of any other Gifts or Grants by Us or any of our Progenitors or Predeceſſors, to the aforeſaid Sir Thomas Gates, Knt., Sir George Somers, Knt., Richard Hackluit, Edward Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, Ralegh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, or any of them, heretofore made, in theſe preſents, is not made, Or any ſtatute, Act, Ordinance, or Proviſion, Proclamation, or Reſtraint, to the contrary hereof had, made, ordained, or any other Thing, Cauſe, or Matter whatſoever, in any wiſe notwithſtanding. IN WITNESS whereof, we have cauſed theſe our Letters to be made Patents; Witneſs Ourſelf, at Weſtminſter, the tenth Day of April, in the fourth Year of our Reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the nine and thirtieth.

Lukin

Per breve de privato Sigillo.

The Copy of a Letter ſent to the Treaſurer and Councel of Virginia from Captain Smith, then Preſident in Virginia.

RIGHT HONORABLE, &c.,

I received your Letter, wherein you write, that our minds are ſo ſet upon faction, and idle conceits in dividing the Country without your conſents, and that we feed *You* but with ifs and ands, hopes and ſome few proofes; as if we would keepe the myſtery of the buſineſſe to ourſelues: and that we muſt expreſſly follow your inſtructions ſent by Captain *Newport:* the charge of whoſe voyage amounts to neare two thouſand pounds, the which if we cannot defray by the Ships returne, we are like to remain as baniſhed men. To theſe particulars I humbly intreat your Pardons if I offend you with my rude Anſwer.

For our factions, unleſſe you would haue me run away and leaue the Country, I cannot prevent them: becauſe I do make many ſtay that would els fly any whether. For the idle Letter ſent to my Lord of *Saliſbury*, by the Preſident and his confederats, for diuiding the Country, &c. What it was I know not, for you ſaw no hand of mine to it; nor euer dream't I of any ſuch matter. That we feed you with hopes, &c. Though I be no ſcholer, I am paſt a ſchool boy; and I deſire but to know, what either you, and theſe here doe know, but that I have learned to tell you by the continuall hazard of my life, I have not concealed from you any thing I know; but I feare ſome cauſe you to beleeue much more then is true.

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Expreſly to follow your directions by Captain *Newport*, though they be performed, I was directly againſt it; but, according to our Commiſſion, I was content to be overruled by the maior part of the Councell, I feare to the hazard of us all; which is now generally confeſſed when it is too late. Onely Captaine *Winne* and Captaine *Waldo* I have ſworne of the Councell, and Crowned *Powhatan* according to your inſtructions.

For the charge of this Voyage of two or three thouſand pounds, we have not received the value of an hundred pounds. And for the quartred boat to be borne by the ſouldiers over the Falles, *Newport* had 120 of the beſt men he could chuſe. If he had burnt her to aſhes, one might have carried her in a bag, but as ſhe is, fiue hundred cannot, to a navigable place aboue the Falles. And for him at that time to find in the South Sea, a Mine of Gold, or any of them ſent by Sir *Walter Raleigh:* at our Conſultation I told them was as likely as the reſt. But during this great diſcovery of thirtie myles,* (which might as well have been done by one man, and much more, for the value of a pound of Copper at a ſeaſonable tyme), they had the Pinnace and all the Boats with them, but one that remained with me to ſerue the Fort. In their abſence I followed the new begun workes of Pitch and Tarre, Glaſſe, Sope aſhes, and Clapboord, whereof ſome ſmall quantities we have ſent you. But if you rightly conſider, what an infinite toyle it is in *Ruſſia* and *Swethland*, where the woods are proper for naught els, and though there be the helpe

* *Newport's* expedition to the *Monacans*.

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both of man and beaſt in thoſe ancient Common-wealths, which many a hundred years have vſed it, yet thouſands of thoſe poore people can ſcarce get neceſſaries to liue, but from hand to mouth. And though your Factors there can buy as much in a week as will fraught you a ſhip, or as much as you pleaſe; you muſt not expect from us any ſuch matter, which are but a many of ignorant miſerable ſoules, that are ſcarce able to get wherewith to liue, and defend ourſelues againſt the inconſtant *Salvages:* finding but here and there a tree fit for the purpoſe, and want all things els the Ruffians haue. For the Coronation of *Powhatan*, by whoſe advice you ſent him ſuch preſents, I know not; but this give me leaue to tell you, I feare they will be the concluſion of vs all ere we heare from you againe. At your Ships arrivall, the *Salvages* harveſt was newly gathered, and we going to buy it, our owne not being halfe ſufficient for ſo great a number. As for the two ſhips loading of Corne *Newport* promiſed to provide vs from *Powhatan*, he brought us but fourteene Buſhels; and from the *Monacans* nothing, but the moſt of the men ſicke and neare famiſhed. From your Ship we had not proviſion in victuals worth twenty pound, and we are more than two hundred to live vpon this; the one half ſicke, the other little better. For the Saylers (I confeſſe) they daily make good cheare, but our dyet is a little meale and water, and not ſufficient of that. Though there be fiſh in the Sea, foules in the ayre, and Beaſts in the woods, their bounds are ſo large, they ſo wilde, and we ſo weake and ignorant, we cannot much trouble them. Captain *Newport* we much ſuſpect to be the Authour of thoſe inventions. Now that you ſhould know, I haue made

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you as great a diſcovery as he, for leſſe charge than he ſpendeth you every meale; I haue ſent you this Mappe of the Bay and Rivers, with an annexed Relation of the Countries and Nations that inhabit them, as you may ſee at large. Alſo two barrels of ſtones, and ſuch as I take to be good Iron ore at the leaſt; ſo divided, as by their notes you may ſee in what places I found them. The Souldiers ſay many of your officers maintaine their families out of that you ſend vs; and that *Newport* hath an hundred pounds a yeare for carrying newes. For every maſter you haue yet ſent can find the way as well as he, ſo that an hundred pounds might be ſpared, which is more than we haue all, that helpe to pay him wages. Cap. *Ratliffe* is now called *Sicklemore*, a poore counterfeited Impoſture. I haue ſent you him home, leaſt the company ſhould cut his throat. What he is, now every one can tell you: if he and *Archer* returne againe, they are ſufficient to keepe vs alwayes in factions. When you ſend againe I intreat you rather ſend but thirty Carpenters, huſbandmen, gardiners, fiſher men, blackſmiths, maſons, and diggers vp of trees, roots, well provided; then a thouſand of ſuch as we haue: for except wee be able both to lodge them, and feed them, the moſt will conſume with want of neceſſaries before they can be made good for anything. Thus, if you pleaſe to conſider this account, and of the vnneceſſary wages to Captaine *Newport*, or his ſhips ſo long lingering and ſtaying here (for notwithſtanding his boaſting to leave vs victuals for 12 moneths, though we had 89 by this diſcovery lame and ſicke, and but a pinte of Corne a day for a man, we were conſtrained to giue him three hogſheads of that to victuall him homeward), or yet to ſend into

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Germany or *Poleland* for glaſſe-men and the reſt, till we be able to ſuſtaine our ſelues, and relieue them when they come. It were better to giue fiue hundred pound a tun for thoſe groſſe Commodities in *Denmarke*, then ſend for them hither, till more neceſſary things be prouided. For in over-toyling our weake and vnſkilfull bodies, to ſatisfie this deſire of preſent profit, we can ſcarce ever recover our ſelves from one Supply to another. And I humbly intreat you hereafter, let us know what we ſhould receiue, and not ſtand to the Saylers courteſie to leaue us what they pleaſe, els you may charge vs with what you will, but we not you with anything. Theſe are the Cauſes that haue kept us in *Virginia*, from laying ſuch a foundation, that ere this might haue given much better content and ſatisfaction; but as yet you muſt not looke for any profitable returnes; ſo I humbly reſt.

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